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Berisha Sees U.S. Role in Resolving Kosovo Issue

AU3011205895 Tirana TVSH Television Network in Albanian 1900 GMT 30 Nov 95

[FBIS Translated Text] President Sali Berisha today received Ambassador Robert Frowick, U.S. representative to the OSCE special working group on implementing the Dayton agreement in the former Yugoslavia.

Ambassador Frowick briefed President Berisha on the OSCE mission, elections in Bosnia-Herzegovina, the monitoring of human rights, and efforts to secure an arms-control regime to stabilize the Balkan region.

At the meeting, Berisha once again praised the historic Dayton agreement for establishing peace in Bosnia-Herzegovina and stability in the Balkans, as well NATO's role in implementing it. Berisha stressed the importance of resolving the Kosova issue for securing peace in the region.

Berisha welcomed OSCE efforts to reestablish its monitors in Kosova. He insisted, however, on the necessity of including the Kosova issue in the peace negotiations on the former Yugoslavia.

Berisha said that the line drawn on Kosova, which was initiated by President Bush and resumed by President Clinton, was a determining factor in preventing the conflict from spreading to Kosova. He said: I think that President Clinton and the U.S. Government will play a decisive role in resolving the Kosova issue, without which there can be no real peace in the former Yugoslavia. Albania is determined to encourage dialogue between Prishtina and Belgrade under the auspices of s third party and supports efforts for ensure a peaceful solution to the Kosova problem.

Godo, Bukoshi Urge Coordination on Kosovo Issue

AU0112075895 Tirana TVSH Television Network in Albanian 1735 GMT 30 Nov 95

[FBIS Translated Text] During his visit to Tirana to attend official ceremonies marking National Day, Dr. Bujar Bukoshi, prime minister of the Republic of Kosova, met with Republican Party Chairman Sabri Godo.

During the meeting, Bukoshi briefed Godo on the latest developments in the Kosova issue, particularly inb light of the Dayton agreement. Bukoshi said that, for the moment, the activity and role of the Albanian factor has assumed great importance and stressed that its activity can become more effective under the influence of the international community.

For his part, Mr. Godo considered the initial position of the Albanian state to be entirely appropriate and also voiced his concern about some stances which, he stressed, lack determination and a clear vision.

At the end of the meeting, they both concluded that now, more than ever before, a more coordinated position adopted by all Albanian subjects is required to resolve the Kosova issue, which is currently becoming a very hot issue.

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Assembly Backs Decision on EU Membership

AU0112111895 Sofia Khorizont Radio Network in Bulgarian 1000 GMT 1 Dec 95

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] A little while ago, with only one vote against, the National Assembly passed a decision to support the decision of the Council of Ministers regarding Bulgaria's official request to become a full-fledged EU member. Zlatina Georgieva reports from the National Assembly:

[Georgieva] This is a pleasing consensus, the deputies said. [passage omitted]

The decision obliges the National Assembly permanent commissions to be guided by European laws in their legislative activity and recommends that the Council of Ministers begin preparatory measures. [passage omitted]

Mr. Ibrahin Tatarlu, Rights and Freedoms Movement [DPS] deputy, spoke about the DPS's contribution to resolving the ethnic issue in Bulgaria and said that an attempt was currently being made to undermine national unity.

President Zhelyu Zhelev and the ambassadors of the EU states attended part of the session. At the end of the session, Krasimir Premyanov, chairman of the Democratic Left parliamentary faction, said that the National Assembly had proved to be a bad host: The expectation that President Zhelev would address the National Assembly on the EU membership proved unjustified. [passage omitted]

At the beginning of the session, a declaration was read out on the part of the DPS, the People's Union, and the Union of Democratic Forces, which demands that the BSP assume responsibility for the situation in Kurdzhali. The declaration appeals to all democratically thinking people to defend Bulgarian democracy.

Zhelev, Videnov Discuss Kurdzhali Election Issue

AU0112111495 Sofia Khorizont Radio Network in Bulgarian 1000 GMT 1 Dec 95

[FBIS Translated Text] On 1 December, President Zhelyu Zhelev and Prime Minister Zhan Videnov had a 30-minute meeting on the Kurdzhali problem. Here is what they had to say after their meeting about resolving the issue of the funtioning of the municipal bodies:

[Begin recording] [Zhelev] After the 30-minute talk with the prime minister, it is my impression that he will adopt a wise and prudent decision that will correspond to the Municipal Self-Government Law.

I also understood from the meeting that we adhere to a common position, namely, that the law is above everyone, including the oblast administrator of Khaskovo, and he must take this fact into consideration.

[Videnov] I briefed the president on the report of Angel Naydenov, the Khaskovo Oblast administrator. I believe he is justified in expecting that the court will establish as soon as possible how the municipal organs in Kurdzhali should function. Naturally, the delay caused by the transfer of the case from one court to another is rather unfortunate, but I am quite convinced that a meeting of the Khaskovo Court should take place in the next few days, and on this basis, the activity of the Kurdzhali organs will normalize.

I believe that the oblast administrator is very much aware of his duties and legal prerogatives, and will strictly implement them. [end recording]

Cabinet Rejects 'Ultimatums'

AU3011143795 Sofia Khorizont Radio Network in Bulgarian 1000 GMT 30 Nov 95

[FBIS Translated Text] The Press Center of the Council of Ministers has issued the following reaction to the statement by Ahmed Dogan, the leader of the Rights and Freedoms Movement [DPS], who addressed ultimatums to the Khaskovo Oblast Administration and the government:

The government and the oblast administrations are thoroughly familiar with their obligations and know how to implement them. Those obligations have been laid down by Bulgarian law.

In the specific case of Kurdzhali, the government will also take into consideration the decision of the Bulgarian court concerning the exceptionally serious investigation into the rigging of the results of the municipal elections. If violations are proven, all those who must bear legal responsibility will have to answer for their actions, even if they are higher state employees or political figures.

The government will recognize the decision of the court, whatever it is, as the sole authoritative decision and will abide by the ensuing consequences.

The Council of Ministers will not allow separate political forces, political leaders, and possible perpetrators of grave violations to dictate personnel decisions of the Council of Ministers. Such pressure, regardless of who initiates it, will also be categorically rejected in the future.

This is the text of a government declaration received by the Bulgarian national radio in connection to a statement by DPS leader Ahmed Dogan.

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Dogan's Tactics Analyzed

AU0112105795 Sofia KONTINENT in Bulgarian 28 Nov 95 p 3

[Commentary by Galya Nikolova: "Ahmed Dogan Has Strengthened the DPS by 'Betting' on Turkey and Religion"]

[FBIS Translated Text] "We are Bulgarian citizens, but we are Turks," a deputy of the Rights and Freedoms Movement [DPS] told KONTINENT. Willingly or unwillingly, he thus summarized in one sentence the entire propaganda campaign conducted by the DPS prior to the municipal elections.

DPS leader Ahmed Dogan had to strengthen his somewhat shaken ratings after the December 1994 parliamentary elections and this he did. The DPS succeeded in holding onto its positions in the municipalities. Now the DPS has 26 municipal mayors, precisely the same as in 1991. Two municipalities, Borino and Satovchi, were lost, but in two others, Mineralni Bani-Khaskovo and Belitsa in the western Rhodopes, which is predominantly populated by Bulgarian Muslims, the DPS won. The DPS received a little over 8 percent in the municipal elections. The DPS deputies claim that the number of voters who voted for the DPS increased compared with the December 1994 elections. However, this does not appear to be likely. Regardless of the better results, Dogan continues to lose electoral support.

This may be why this time he initiated a radical election campaign move: The DPS leaders placed their bets in the campaign on empathy toward Turkey and the Muslim religion.

In September, at a meeting of the DPS Central Council, the former Chief Mufti Fikri Sali Hasan said that the DPS support of the Muslims' protests against "the state's interference in religion," i.e., against Nadim Gendzhev, will positively influence the DPS's ratings in regions with a mixed population. Indeed, the DPS and some of its deputies supported the protest march of the Muslims in Sofia and the rallies in the provinces, even though Dogan always used to claim that his party is a secular and not a religious organization.

The DPS election campaign was launched with the festival of Turkish folklore in the village of Stambolovo in the Khaskovo region, under Dogan's patronage, and with Turkish diplomats in attendance. On the eve of the elections, 20,000 people participated in the commissioning of a mosque in the Burgas Region, together with the DPS leaders, Mesut Yilmaz [spelling as transliterated], leader of the opposition Turkish Motherland Party, and five Turkish deputies.

The Falcon [Dogan's nickname] himself is not religious, people close to him claim. He observes the Muslim tradition very seldom, if at all. This also applies to his close circle. Only Remzi Osman, a deputy from Kurdzhali, and Prof. Ibrahim Tatarlu from the DPS parliamentary faction, openly declare that they practise Islam. However, Dogan very skillfully utilizes the religious mood of his constituency, predominantly older people, for purely political goals. Muslim clergymen actively participated in the DPS municipal elections campaign and directed their preaching to DPS election agitation.

In addition to religion, Ahmed Dogan also sought support in his supporters' empathy with Turkey. However, the Falcon has never been a Turkish "nationalist." All his statements on this delicate issue are well measured. He has always billed himself as a Bulgarian citizen and his party as an all-national Bulgarian party. However, in practice the DPS defends only the rights of its voters, which does not necessarily mean that the DPS identifies itself 100 percent with those interests. Officially, Dogan and the DPS do not maintain any relations with political forces in Turkey, a DPS deputy told KONTINENT. However, there have been unofficial contacts with the True Path Party of President Suleyman Demirel and Mesut Yilmaz's Motherland Party.

"The DPS does not have a very high profile in Turkey," a member of the DPS leadership told KONTINENT. According to him, this also applies to Dogan's personality. The reason is that Turkish political circles consider the Falcon and his party to be too close to the Bulgarian secret services. The hesitant behavior of the DPS in the previous National Assembly also contributed to the DPS's low ratings in Turkey.

The Turkish politicians are dissatisfied that it proved beyond the ability of Dogan and his movement to solve the three basic problems of the Turks in Bulgaria. There still is no clarity regarding the study of the mother language and the "insulting," as a DPS deputy put it, problem of the Construction Troops, in which the minorities predominantly serve. In addition, Turkey assesses the scandal provoked by Ibrahim Tatarlu over the use of the Turkish language in the Bulgarian Army as a great blunder. Turkish politicians have stated that such a claim would have been unacceptable in any state.

"Diplomats are interested in the DPS," Dogan has repeatedly said. One DPS deputy said that "the economic situation of the Turks in Bulgaria remains the most painful issue for the Turks in Bulgaria."

Clearly, for various reasons the DPS is unable to do anything to decrease unemployment in the mixed regions. On several occasions, Dogan promised financial

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aid from Turkey for various regions and was so carried away that, prior to the December 1994 parliamentary elections, he "overacted" by promising to invest 30 million leva of his personal finances in the Shumen region. On the eve of the municipal elections, he became even more "famous" with his statements in the press about establishing economic autonomy for the Bulgarian regions populated by Turks. The night after the second round of the elections, he officially denied these statements. "Obviously, no one any longer believes his words about the economic prosperity of the Turks in Bulgaria," a DPS deputy told KONTINENT.

Perhaps it is for all those reasons that the DPS did not receive any money from Turkey in the last municipal elections campaign. The DPS representatives officially confirmed this. However, Dogan skillfully utilized the support that Turkey renders the DPS as a matter of principle because of its strategic interests. Let us recall that Turkish politicians and diplomats participated directly in the DPS election campaign. Ishan Sakariya [spelling as transliterated], Turkey's general consul in Plovdiv, toured the region of Smolyan and Kurdzhali in order to meet the DPS voters. "His activity" prompted a protest note on the part of the Bulgarian Ministry of Foreign Affairs. "I am not sure that he met the voters," DPS Deputy Guner Tahir told KONTINENT, and added that there have been no such meetings in northeastern Bulgaria where he visited. Deputy Tahir expressed his doubts over the claim that his colleagues in Kurdzhali invited the Turkish diplomats. "However, even if they met—so what," he said in conclusion.

For his part, Dogan quickly announced that the participation of foreign representatives in his party's election campaign does not concern him. During the elections he often played the "card" called mother language, despite the fact that unlike his close circle, he avoids speaking Turkish in public places. Nevertheless, in a complete contradiction to Article 50 of the Election Law, the entire DPS election campaign was conducted almost entirely in Turkish. Under the protection of their immunity, the DPS deputies conducted their propaganda in Turkish, claiming that their voters, or at least the elderly people, do not understand Bulgarian very well. "Of course, I will speak in Turkish. Why should I not speak in my mother language," DPS Deputy Remzi Osman told KONTINENT. He used to declare at rallies that he was not afraid of any sanctions and, therefore, would speak in Turkish. Osman clarified that in 70 percent of the cases, he spoke in Bulgarian and only 30 percent in Turkish, mainly because of the elderly people in the villages who attended the Kurdzhali rallies.

"If the Bulgarian Socialist Party [BSP] wins the elections, it will be possible to speak Turkish only in the kitchen and in bed," Ibrahim Tatarlu, a noted defender of the mother language, said.

However, Dogan's nerves can always sustain the pressure and often "play a nasty trick" on him. After the first round of municipal elections, he got carried away and made a very untypical statement, which revealed the strongest trump card of the DPS:

"If the Union of Democratic Forces [SDS] and the BSP ally against the movement in Kurdzhali, the DPS could turn into an ethnic party," Dogan said. The statement prompted protests on the part of the political forces and an investigation on the part of the Chief Prosecutor's Office. Dogan later refused to say precisely what he declared. However, he stressed the fact that he succeeded in overcoming the ethnic vote with the support of the opposition forces, despite the fact that it is clear to everyone that only ethnic Turks voted for the DPS. DPS members explain Dogan's radical statement by saying that it was a natural reaction to the BSP attacks in Kurdzhali. It is difficult to guess whether Dogan, who is usually very moderate in his statements, "lost his nerves" or made a well-measured move, something that appears to be more plausible against the background of the fundamental principles of the DPS campaign.

It appears that in this case, Dogan tried to shake up his opponents by assuming precisely a position that was exactly the opposite of his usual claim until then—that the DPS is a national Bulgarian party that guarantees ethnic peace in the country. He certainly acquired the support of his hardcore constituency, but also evoked the wrath and indignation of a large part of the Bulgarian society.

A DPS deputy assessed as stupid Dogan's claim that if the Kurdzhali elections were annulled, he would topple the cabinet. According to observers, with this statement, made under the influence of his emotions, Dogan tried to suggest to his voters, whose number is dwindling, that something still depends on him and on the DPS. For the time being, he appears to be successful in this.

Cabinet Prepares 1996 Draft Budget for Assembly

AU3011191495 Sofia Khorizont Radio Network in Bulgarian 1700 GMT 30 Nov 95

[FBIS Translated Text] The government is ready with its proposed 1996 budget bill, and is about to submit it to parliament. Here is Lilyana Mikhaylova with further details on the draft budget and other decisions adopted by the cabinet today:

[Mikhaylova] The expected revenues in 1996 total 419 billion leva, while the expected expenditures are

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474 billion leva. The bill envisions a budget deficit of precisely 4.97 percent. Finance Minister Dimitur Kostov mentioned that the 1996 draft budget envisions an inflation rate of under 20 percent, a real growth in the GDP of at least 3 percent, a positive balance of payments of $150 million, and foreign investments valued at $250-300 million. The minister also expected the rate of change in the exchange rate to be below that of inflation and spoke of possibilities of reducing interest rates.

Together with the draft budget, the government will also submit to parliament a package of bills relating to amendments and additions to taxation legislation after it has discussed the proposals that have been received at a special meeting on 4 December.

The cabinet also approved a program for privatizing state-owned enterprises in 1996, under which 467 firms will be offered for privatization. The expected proceeds are 20,937,810,000 leva, 50 percent of which is expected to be received in the form of state securities, and the remainder in cash.

The cabinet also set the prices for liquid fuels and natural gas for the month of December. The price of A-91 grade gasoline is cut by 50 stotinki per liter, while the prices of other grades remain the same. The price of diesel fuel is increased by 1 lev per liter, and gas oil rises by 83 stotinki per liter. The announcement on the December fuel prices also notes that the lev's rate of exchange will rise by 60 stotinki.

Operation Against Pirated Audio Compact Discs

AU3011083895 Sofia 168 CHASA in Bulgarian 27 Nov-3 Dec 95 p 32

[Article by Ivan Tropankev: "Government Hits Audio Pirates"]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] In the coming weeks, the audio pirates will be dealt a powerful blow. The interested Ministries of Industry, Culture, Justice, and Internal Affairs will take part in the operation. Some of the major audio companies, until recently known as pirates, have been informed about and will take part in the operation. The ministries also rely on the small retailers, who suffer most from the phenomenon.

Certain international antipiracy organizations have been informed about the upcoming purge. A set price for the compact discs has been determined to protect the market from total destruction. It will be no more than 700 leva [about $10]. A study shows that aficionados in our country are prepared to pay without any hesitation 1,500 leva for a high-quality disc. However, experts think that the great battle for preferences and customs alleviations is yet to begin.

Bulgaria was strongly squeezed in February during President Zhelev's visit to the United States. On that occasion, President Clinton personally told Zhelev and Deputy Prime Minister Gechev that in 1994 the United States lost $136 million as a result of the activity of our pirates. [passage omitted]

Immediately upon the return of the two statesmen from Washington, Deputy Prime Minister Rumen Gechev personally tackled the problem. This was a result of the fact that the socialist government program has devoted special attention to the struggle against "pirates." Informed sources claim that Prime Minister Zhan Videnov and Krasimir Premyanov, chairman of the Bulgarian Socialist Party parliamentary faction, are also personally participating in the operation.

In the meantime, parliament adopted an amendment to the Penal Code which threatens the "pirates" with up to five years of prison and a fine of 500,000 leva. Later on, Bulgaria joined the Rome and Geneva Conventions. [passage omitted]

The International Phonograph Industry Federation has requested that the four disc-producing lines in Bulgaria install a new coding device, which will facilitate an easier identification of the line that has produced the discs. So far no one has purchased the coding devices.

Dimitur Enchev, director of the Ministry of Culture Copyright Department, and his team have prepared a special regulation according to which all discs that have been produced in Bulgaria, must be entered in the ministry's computer. Thus it would be easier to control whether the discs have been produced on the basis of a license. The computer program on processing the information has been submitted to the ministry this week. Michael Kuntsman from Virginia Records announced that PolyGram will donate to the ministry computers and equipment for revealing "pirate" production.

Capacity of Stara Zagora Firm

AU2911122395 Sofia KONTINENT in Bulgarian 25-26 Nov 95 p 1

[Staff report: "Bulgaria, China Said To Be Greatest Audiopirates"]

[FBIS Translated Text] REUTER reported on 24 November that Bulgaria and China occupy the first place in the world in the production of pirated compact discs.

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Mike Edwards, leader of the International Phonographic Industry Federation, noted at a news conference in London that practically every fourth disc today is a pirated disc. The profit from the illegal sales amounts to $2.5 billion per year.

According to Edwards, at present there are more than 30 disc-producing plants in China, while in 1992 there were only three. The market there does not need more than 5 million discs per year, but its production capacity is 75 million discs.

Mr. Edwards says that Bulgaria's possibilities in this area are also great. According to him, the Disc Memory Devices Factory in Stara Zagora can produce almost 10 million compact discs per year. Mr. Edwards thinks that Bulgaria is the greatest threat to the audio industry in west Europe.

Yesterday, the management of the Stara Zagora factory refused to comment on Mr. Edwards's claims. The enterprise is the target of attacks because of the audio piracy case of spring 1995. Since then the company and the disc-producing factory have been visited by representatives of the International Phonographic Industry Federation.

The Stara Zagora factory has two production lines for compact discs, each with an annual capacity of about 1.6 million discs. The enterprise has signed contracts with its customers, which precludes the possibility of piracy.

There are two additional compact disc-producing lines in Bulgaria—in Sofia and Veliko Turnovo. They belong to private companies. The second began production only two months ago.

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Havel Lauds Decision To Participate in Bosnia

LD3011144995 Prague Radiozurnal Radio Network in Czech 1100 GMT 30 Nov 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Czech President Vaclav Havel has described our offer to participate in an international force in Bosnia-Herzegovina as a matter of historic significance.

[Unidentified correspondent] That is what Havel told journalists today at the first news conference to be held for a long time at the castle. The president also believes that this gives us the opportunity for the first time in our history to express a feeling of shared responsibility for peace in Europe. We are not people who merely look after themselves and are reluctant to help others, Vaclav Havel added.

He also ruled out equating the aforementioned gesture by the Czech Republic with a deliberate calculation to give us a better position when it comes to joining NATO. This is not some kind of trial with a specific purpose, Vaclav Havel said decisively today on the subject of the government's decision to send our troops on an international peacekeeping mission to Bosnia-Herzegovina.

Communist Leader Opposes Move

LD3011161095 Prague Radiozurnal Radio Network in Czech 1500 GMT 30 Nov 95

[FBIS Translated Text] The peace agreement on Bosnia reached in Dayton is merely a peace on a knife's edge that will not last very long, Miloslav Ransdorf, deputy chairman of the Communist Party of Bohemia and Moravia, told a news conference today.

In such circumstances, he believes, it is sheer lunacy to get involved in such a situation and especially to send a military unit there.

Defense Ministry on Troops

LD3011202795 Prague Radiozurnal Radio Network in Czech 1700 GMT 30 Nov 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Of the approximately 850 Czech soldiers who, according to a government decision, are to take part in the mission of multinational peace forces in the former Yugoslavia, there should be included those from the rapid deployment brigade.

The Ministry of Defense said today that about 25 percent of the above number should be professional soldiers and 75 percent soldiers from other service. The battalion should be equipped with combat vehicles and automobiles. They should be armed in a standard manner, as is common in Czech mechanized battalions.

Poll Shows Changes in Politicians' Popularity

AU3011144895 Prague MLADA FRONTA DNES in Czech 29 Nov 95 p 2

[Report by Jiri Kubik: "Some Politicians Managed To Halt the Decline in Their Popularity in the Fall"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Prague—While, during the summer months, the popularity of the leading politicians declined slightly but continually, the trend was reversed at the beginning of this month. This was manifested most unequivocally in the case of Christian Democratic Union-Czechoslovak People's Party leader Josef Lux, who won 12 percent of new supporters, and of Civic Democratic Alliance Chairman Jan Kalvoda, who won 8.0 percent.

According to an extensive survey carried out by the Center for Empirical Research [STEM], since the last poll in September, 10 of the 12 most popular politicians have managed to improve their ratings. The only exceptions are Prime Minister Vaclav Klaus, who has been supported by a stable 56 percent of people for some time, and Christian Democratic Party Chairman Ivan Pilip, who lost some of his supporters (from 48 percent in September to 45 percent in November) and is in last place in the top 12.

Although the support for Klaus has not changed, the increasing popularity of some of the other politicians has pushed him from fifth place in September to eighth place in November, which is his lowest ranking in the polls so far.

The trio of the most popular politicians—Industry Minister Vladimir Dlouhy, Free Democrats leader Jiri Dienstbier, and Foreign Minister Josef Zieleniec—has been unchanged since last April. Thanks to a 7.0-percent increase since September, Dlouhy now has 83-percent support, Dienstbier has 74-percent (an increase of 3.0 percent), and Zieleniec has 68-percent (an increase of 1.0 percent).

Fourth place has been held since the last poll by the social democrats' deputy chairwoman, Petra Buzkova, who is the favorite of 63 percent of the public (57 percent in September). "Coalition voters, for whom she fills the role of the acceptable representative of the opposition, deserve the credit for her very good showing. Of the other opposition politicians, this can only be said about Jiri Dienstbier," said Pavel Simonik of STEM yesterday.

Health Minister Jan Strasky, who is in fifth place (from 55 percent to 60 percent) also won new supporters. Kalvoda is now sixth, with 60 percent, which is his best result during the past 12 months. "He has managed

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to return among the six most popular following the pronounced decline in his popularity at the beginning of the year," said Simonik. The social democrats' leader, Milos Zeman, is in front of Klaus in seventh place, with 57 percent. He was supported by only 44 percent of people in June.

The top 10 is concluded by Finance Minister Ivan Kocarnik, with 56 percent, and Agriculture Minister Josef Lux, with 52 percent. "Becaise Lux has won 12 percent of new supporters, his popularity has exceeded the 50-percent barrier for the first time," says Simonik. The trade union leader Richard Falbr is ahead of Pilip in 11th place, with 51 percent.

STEM assesses President Vaclav Havel's popularity separately, so his name does not appear in the rankings of politicians. The November poll has confirmed his continually declining popularity; 67 percent of the public expressed their confidence in Havel. In September it was 69 percent, in June 75 percent, and in April 78 percent. His popularity is on the decline among social democratic and communist voters in particular.

Klaus Says Koruna Should Not Be Devalued

AU3011141795 Prague LIDOVE NOVINY in Czech 25 Nov 95 p 12

[Report by "kk" on lecture by Prime Minister Vaclav Klaus delivered at the general assembly of the Czech Economic Society in Prague on 24 November: "Klaus Opposes Devaluation of the Koruna"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Vaclav Klaus believes that, in the Czech Republic, wages can continue to grow faster than productivity for a while longer and the exchange rate of the koruna can remain at its present level.

The prime minister said this yesterday in his lecture "How Far Have We Gotten With the Transformation Cushions," which he delivered at the general assembly of the Czech Economic Society. These cushions were created, according to him, shortly after the launching of the economic transformation by prices rising significantly faster than wages, and also by the substantial devaluation of the koruna at the time. These cushions, according to the prime minister, were a result of a courageous restrictive policy "at the moment of truth, at the moment of price and trade liberalization, when we had a tremendous fear of explosive inflationary (prices—wages—prices) and devaluation (prices—exchange rate—prices) spirals." These spirals did not start spinning, in the prime minister's words, "because we chose the degree of restriction and the degree of devaluation correctly."

Further in his speech, Klaus argued that these cushions (which softened the force of the transformation impact on our firms) have not yet been completely used up. This will occur, according to him, only when real wages' growth, which has been faster so far than the growth of productivity, begins to accelerate inflation. It has not yet happened because real wages (1990 = 100) have in the meantime risen from 68.8 percent (1991) to 96.2 percent (1995). This conviction, according to the prime minister, is only loosely connected with the question of the continuing existence of the fixed rate of the Czech koruna. "Whether we like it or not, both rational and irrational rate expectations emerge; speculation on the rate, at home and abroad, follows; and, in the end, there is a certain rate complacency. That is a clear argument for considering a change," the prime minister said.

Efforts To Keep 1996 Budget in Surplus

95CH0367B Prague HOSPODARSKE NOVINY in Czech 31 Aug 95 pp 1, 3

[Unattributed article: "The Struggle for Financial Resources From the State Budget for Next Year Is Just Beginning"]

[FBIS Translated Text] The determination of the precise volume of resources to be acquired from the state budget for the year 1996 is to be the result of negotiations between the Ministry of Finance (MF) and the other ministries. The negotiations, which are just beginning, must conclude prior to 20 September, when the government is to deal with the budget for the last time. Parliamentary committees will then begin to discuss the proposal in September and the budget law must be approved, at the latest, in December.

The majority of the Czech political parties have thus far accepted the published proposals by the Ministry of Finance with certain reservations, including the unclear housing policy and support for business activities. The ODA [Civic Democratic Alliance] is accepting both the lowering of the share of the budget in the gross domestic product and also the basic elements of the government's economic policy. The CSSD [Czech Social Democratic Party] is preparing its own position, with which it will, however, not come out until the parliamentary debate. The KDU-CSL [Christian Democratic Union—Czech People's Party] perceives three main priorities in the budget compilation: security, education, and environment. The KDS [Christian Democratic Party] is pushing for such a balanced budget as to limit the creation of surpluses in the future. "In view of the fact that voting on the budget is, simultaneously, a vote of confidence in the government, we are not anticipating that the parliamentary faction of the SPR-RSC [Association for the Republic—Republican Party

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of the Czech Republic] will support this budget because we have no confidence in this government," Jan Vik, chairman of the parliamentary faction of the SPR-RSC, told HOSPODARSKE NOVINY.

The Ministry of Agriculture is pushing for an increase in the measure of support from the state budget by 1 billion korunas [Kc]. This year, subsidies to business entities amount to approximately Kc8 billion. "We need a higher contribution primarily to support investments," Deputy Minister Vaclav Slavicek told HOSPODARSKE NOVINY. The Ministry of Agriculture is proposing its own budget of approximately Kc10 billion and an additional Kc17 billion to support housing policy. The Ministry of Industry and Commerce is expecting to receive Kc7.4 billion from the budget, which represents an increase over last year by not quite 10 percent. The Ministry of Culture is struggling with the status of cultural memorials and believes that an increase of 13 percent in its budget as proposed by the Ministry of Finance will not suffice. The Ministry of Labor and Social Affairs is only expecting its resources to grow in the area of valorizing pensions and the minimum cost of living.

The chairman of the Budgetary Committee, Tomas Jezek, would very much welcome a surplus in the state budget for 1996 of approximately Kc3 billion. According to him, the Budgetary Committee will demand that this year's surplus not be spent.

The Budgetary Committee will begin its deliberations regarding the budget in October. "The government has held itself very close to the wall from the standpoint of the proceeds based on individual taxes, as well as in estimating economic growth, which was underestimated," said T. Jezek. On a priority basis, the committee will deal with revenues, because the surplus over the past two years was always the result of the underestimation of revenues.

According to Josef Hajek (LB [Left Bloc]), who is a member of the Budgetary Committee and who is the leading opposition macroeconomist, the proposal involving state finances is covertly on the surplus side. In this manner, the government is creating a large manipulative area for itself for the parliamentary discussions, which will already be influenced by the preelection requirements of the coalition. J. Hajek told HOSPODARSKE NOVINY that the budget contains a reserve on the revenue side ranging from Kc10-20 billion. He also believes that the official forecast of the inflation rate at virtually 10 percent is overstated and only difficult to estimate and that a later "lower than predicted inflation" will be used as a preelection argument.

The entire discussion on macroeconomic characteristics of the state budget, including a possible balance or surplus, must be concluded at the November session of the parliament. The law on the state budget should be approved in December.

Last evening, Minister of Finance Ivan Kocarnik talked with T. Jezek about modifying this year's state budget in such a way that it would remain in surplus. "This was mainly a matter of preserving this year's budget in a desirable state of surplus, so that the law would be adhered to because the surplus from last year, which actually melted away, falls into the outlook for this year so that a surplus of Kc9.3 billion must be maintained," said Tomas Jezek after the discussion in speaking to reporters.

Companies Compete To Build Spent Fuel Storage

95CH0339C Prague PRAGUE POST in English 15 Aug 95 p 5

[Article by Maggie Ledford Lawson: "International Players Vie to Build New Storage Facility for Spent Fuel"]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] A tender offer for disposal of spent nuclear fuel generated by Czech power plants has attracted enough international players to field a baseball team.

But the nine companies competing to build the so-called medium-term facility can expect a long wait on the bench before they learn who wins the bid.

Earlier this year, Czech Energy Companies (CEZ) sent a tender offer for the medium-term storage facility to 16 firms worldwide. Czech news agency CTK reported that those expressing interest in the contract were Skoda Plzen and Diamo from the Czech Republic, Sierra Nuclear Corp. and NAC/MCE from the United States, Transnucleaire and SGN of France, GEC Alsthom from great Britain, AECL Candu of Canada and NUKEM of Germany.

The companies are being asked to submit proposals, which will then be evaluated for safety, said Jan Coufal, manager of the project for CEZ.

The facility could cost anywhere from 3 billion Kc to 8 billion Kc ($115 million to $308 million), depending on the type of structure, he said. The facility will house spent fuel assemblies from Dukovany, a nuclear plant in southern Moravia, and Temelin, a facility being completed in southern Bohemia.

"By the end of this year we will have a short list," said Coufal. Once the short list of contractors has been set

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up, CEZ will do a feasibility study, pairing the selected technologies with potential sites.

The government still faces the politically sensitive task of site selection. Most companies aren't eager to harbor radioactive material in their backyards.

Energy company officials have narrowed possible sites to six, after scouting the country for suitable locations, said Coufal. Three locations are near the village of Batelov, in southern Moravia, and two sites are near Pacejov in southern Bohemia, according to Coufal.

The target date for selection of the final site is around the beginning of 1997, and actual work on the project could begin shortly after the year 2000, Coufal said.

The medium-term facility wil take care of radioactive storage needs for about 50 years. "That'll leave plenty of time for preparation of a repository," where the radioactive material can be stored for posterity, said Coufal.

Construction time for the medium-term storage facility will also depend on the design chosen, said Coufal. If the facility is put underground, construction could take around four years. If it is a storage facility, only two or three years would be necessary for its completion.

Some 300 workers will be needed to build the facility, which will eventually hire 50-100 people.

The arrival at Dukovany of 60 spent fuel assemblies from Slovakia July 13 underscored the need for action on storage of spent nuclear fuel in the Czech Republic.

Jaroslav Mil, director of the nuclear fuels department at CEZ, said 1,176 spent-fuel assemblies will be returned to Dukovany by March 1997. Shipments from Bohunice, the nuclear plant in Slovakia, have to be paced over months because of space problems.

The fuel assemblies have been housed at Bohunice since before the fall of communism. The Soviet Union originally had agreed to take back the radioactive material, but the Russian government has declined to do so.

The spent-fuel assemblies are to be stored temporarily at Dukovany in pools containing water and chemicals, at a depth of several meters, he said. Each of four pools eventually will hold 70 tons of radioactive material, Mil said.

Another interim storage facility, with a capacity of 600 tons of uranium, is also in the works at Dukovany. It will be full by the year 2005, according to energy company officials.

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Committee Rejects Resolution on Treaty With Hungary

LD3011234095 Bratislava Rozhlasova Stanica Slovensko Network in Slovak 2100 GMT 30 Nov 95

[FBIS Translated Text] The Foreign Affairs Committee of the National Council of Slovakia today did not adopt a valid resolution on the proposal to ratify the agreement on good-neighborly relations and cooperation between Slovakia and Hungary.

Of the 15-strong committee, eight votes were needed to adopt the resolution, but of the ten deputies present only six voted in favor.

The strongest reservations voiced in a three-hour long debate concerned the inclusion of the EU Parliamentary Assembly Recommendation No. 1201 in the Slovak-Hungarian treaty.

In spite of that, Foreign Minister Juraj Schenk said that the ratification process will be successful. However, he did not rule out that the aforementioned recommendation could affect the final decision.

Schenk, Belgian Counterpart Hold News Conference

LD3011220395 Bratislava Rozhlasova Stanica Slovensko Network in Slovak 1700 GMT 30 Nov 95

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] Belgian Foreign Minister Erik Derycke continues his official visit to Slovakia. [passage omitted] The Belgian guest participated in a news conference this afternoon. Our editor Jozef Rebo was also present.

[Rebo] Slovak Foreign Minister Juraj Schenk was the first to take the floor.

[Begin Schenk recording] May I express my deep satisfaction with the fact that this very important visit is taking place, as well as with the course and results of our talks. [passage omitted]

We have exchanged views on such important issues as the process of EU and NATO expansion. Our opinions and positions on these issues, as well as on other important issues discussed, are in many aspects very, very close.

An equally important aspect of our talks was the possibility to continue the broadly conceived dialogue with the EU countries. This dialogue is part of our effort to create conditions for a better understanding of our problems and our ways of resolving them. I would like to stress that in this respect we have found unusually attentive and sensitive listeners in our Belgian colleagues. [end recording]

[Rebo] Belgian Foreign Minister Erik Derycke said, among other things:

[Begin Derycke recording, in French fading into Slovak translation] First of all, I have to say that there are political reasons behind this visit, in spite of the fact that it was very friendly. It is necessary for our government, but especially for the governments of the fifteen, to better understand the situation in (?new) democratic countries. In my view, it is also important that — being two small countries — we have analyzed these issues together, as Belgium encountered the same difficulties some time ago.

It was also necessary to be briefed. The main topics of interest were the integration into Europe, NATO expansion, European security structures, and, primarily, problems that we all share — the situation in the former Yugoslavia. Our discussion on this topic was excellent.

I believe that the effort made on the part of your country is good and it will continue for a long time. I also believe that it would be a very serious mistake to provoke Russia in any excessive way, as Russia is facing many problems right now. It is an important power and it has to taken into consideration. This issue is being broadly discussed in Belgium but it is always interesting to learn the position of a country living much closer to this problem than Belgium. [end recording]

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Keleti Supports NATO Request for Troops

AU3011140795 Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 30 Nov 95 pp 1-2

[Report on interview with Defense Minister Gyorgy Keleti by Peter Matyuc; place and date not given: "Keleti: We Are Sending Peaceful Peacekeepers"]

[FBIS Translated Text] For Hungary, the biggest gain will be the end of the war and the privilege of participating in securing peace in an indirect way, Defense Minister Gyorgy Keleti told NEPSZABADSAG in an interview. On sending Hungarian units to the territory of the former Yugoslavia, Keleti said: "Although a request for Hungarian participation has come, NATO has not yet aritculated its actual needs. We already know that only medical and technical units would take partipate."

Following long preliminary consultations, the defense minister submitted a draft resolution to Parliament on NATO peacekeeping forces being sent to the territory of the former Yugoslavia to be stationed and to reside temporarily in Hungary. Parliament agreed to this on 28 November. However, the point whereby Parliament would agree to the participation of Hungarian units in the peacekeeping forces was omitted from the draft resolution.

In this connection, Keleti said that before the vote on 27 November, six-party discussions took place on permitting IFOR [Implementation Force] to come to Hungary and on sending Hungarian units. No official request had been received by Monday's session.

"Based on the issues that arose during the consultations, I suggested that this point be removed and that the parties and Parliament discuss it later, when it did come on the agenda. Subsequently, a letter from NATO Headquarters arrived late Monday afternoon, stating that the organization's leaders would welcome the presence of Hungarian units for 'strictly non-combatant tasks.'"

"At the same time," Keleti continued, "the soldiers would be carrying out military duties, rather than just labor, and weapons would naturally be part of their equipment. Regular and contracted soldiers could apply for this work on a voluntary basis."

Keleti emphasized those points because a number of deputies have in recent days expressed the view that, owing to historical events, it would not be good for Hungary to appear with an "armed unit" in the region.

Keleti was obviously referring to the fact that the Independent Smallholders Party [FKGP] had rejected any kind of military mission, and the Alliance of Free Democrats found it acceptable to send technical and medical troops but not armed units. Reservations also exist in other parties.

"Military tasks can be divided to two types: soldiers who are mainly sent for fighting or for peacekeeping who carry weapons only for reason of safety. The Hungarian units would belong to the latter group," Keleti continued.

Keleti found it too early to guess to which area, Serb, Croatian, or Bosnian control, Hungary would send soldiers if Parliament agrees to our participation in the peacekeeping. At the same time, he said, these issues would have to be decided soon because the planning of a coordinated military maneuver is now in its final phase.

Keleti reacted with indignation to the FKGP's remark that sending Hungarian troops would cost a lot of money. He said that, naturally, all participating countries must bear their share of the costs. The Defense Ministry can only finance a smaller part of sending the units, with the rest coming from the state budget. "However, the mission is the Hungarian Republic's, rather than the Hungarian Army's contribution to creating peace; therefore, I believe that the ste budget should contribute."

Keleti said that the misleading statements that depict NATO troops' being stationed in Hungary solely as a major business opportunity are harmful to the country's prestige. "For us, the real gain is that the war in our neighborhood has ended and we can take part in the reconstruction."

Finally, Keleti commented on the news that Romania recently bought top technology missiles from Britain. He explained that closed bids will also be solicited by Hungary for the purchase of similar weapons, and the same British company, along with others, will be invited to bid. This missile is a defensive weapon and not one that could upset the balance of power in the region. Both the Romanian and Hungarian purchases are justified by the fact that we previously bought our weapons from the same company at the same time, and now the weapons are outdated, Keleti said.

Commentary on Issue of Sending Troops to Bosnia

AU3011140895 Budapest MAGYAR HIRLAP in Hungarian 30 Nov 95 p 3

[Commentary by Miklos Ujvari: "Bridge on the Sava River"]

[FBIS Translated Text] An issue that deeply divides Hungarian society — sending Hungarian troops to Bosnia — almost made it through Parliament unnoticed. If the actual content of the second one-sentence point

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in the NATO proposal had failed to emerge at the six-party coordination meeting prior to the closed meeting of Parliament's Foreign Affairs and Defense Committee, the public would not have realized for several days that the Hungarian Parliament was voting to deploy Hungarian troops abroad.

For some days, the Defense Ministry, which deals with this issue, has been playing hide-and-seek with the press. Hungarian journalists have been bitter and foreign journalists have been smiling so far at the fact that, hearing about a NATO base in Hungary and U.S. soldiers marching through Hungary, Defense Ministry officials keep silent, while the world press keeps talking about "Pecs" and "Kaposvar."

This time we are talking about a serious issue. The government wanted to use Parliament to issue a blank check on sending Hungarian troops abroad. The plan did not inform the public or Parliament about the number of soldiers that the government wants to send, where, on what basis, and at whose request, although the informal NATO request for Hungarian engineering units had already arrived in Hungary by then. (The Defense Ministry is still silent about this.)

Therefore, although we do not know exactly who proposed at the six-party meeting to drop the issue of sending Hungarian troops to Bosnia from the plan, the rescue action helped avoid a blunder and provided time for arguments. This is all the more fortunate because, as the latest public opinion polls show, most people oppose the deployment of Hungarian troops there.

The Alliance of Free Democrats [SZDSZ] immediately threw open an argument to the public: Given Hungary's historical role in the Balkans, it is not a good idea to send Hungarian troops to the region. The Independent Smallholders' Party [FKGP] has already announced that, because of certain issues, they do not support the Hungarian action. The six-party consensus on the NATO base, which would bring financial advantages and international recognition, suddenly collapsed. In view of this and of the public's concern, it is obvious that the issue is open for debate and the road to a decision must be vetted by the public.

Let us examine what the coordination between NATO and Budapest is all about. The rumors mention an engineering unit of a few hundred troops, which would build a bridge across the Sava River and would later guard it. This also means that, in case of an attack on the bridge, the Hungarians could come under fire. As we know, fighting in the Balkans is not done with rubber bullets. Bosnians, Croats, Serbs, and Hungarians might die there.

Should we accept the Hungarian action at such a cost? The issue is at least doubtful. Even if NATO really has a need for this, it cannot expect us to agree to a situation in which Hungary is made responsible for even a single death in this region in our immediate neighborhood. NATO will probably not decide for or against Hungary's membership in the organization on the basis of the Sava bridge. In any case, we should avoid a situation in which the NATO request is ultimately rejected in Parliament. There are diplomatic channels and other means to reject the proposal smoothly. Good relations with NATO are in the national interest, irrespective of anything else. (We can only hope we are not talking here about an exaggerated Hungarian drive to fulfill the requirements.)

The SZDSZ argument obviously refers to the odious bloodshed against the Vojvodina Hungarians in the spring of 1941. I think that in the current situation, the Kalachnikov affair plays a much greater role than that. Both events argue in favor of staying away or at least staying away militarily, because Hungarian-Serbian relations cannot be burdened with yet another possible incident.

It is in Hungary's best interest to end the Balkan war, Europe's shame a few kilometers from our borders. This is why Hungary accepts the NATO base and the U.S. troops; Hungary could also accept deploying unarmed medical troops in Bosnia. However, sending armed engineering troops should be considered carefully and thoroughly. The public cannot be left out of the decision, because the government is responsible to the public.

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Bosnian Assembly Approves Supporting Accord

AU3011205695 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1800 GMT 30 Nov 95

[Report on the Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina Assembly session in Sarajevo on 30 November by Jesenko Krehic, Samir Huseinovic, and Jasmin Mesic — recorded]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] [passage omitted]

[Mesic] At the proposal of Miro Lazovic, speaker of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Assembly, the deputies adopted the following three conclusions:

One. The Assembly of the Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina extends support to our delegation, headed by Alija Izetbegovic, president of the Presidency of the Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina, which conducted the negotiations in Dayton, United States, and which initialed the general framework agreement on peace in Bosnia-Herzegovina and signed an agreement on the implementation of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Federation.

Two. The Assembly of the Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina supports the delegation of the Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina in the future negotiations that will lead toward final peace in Bosnia-Herzegovina, which also involves the signing of the peace accord in Paris.

Three. The Assembly binds the Government of the Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina and other republican offices and organizations to embark on the preparations for the realization of the Dayton Accord immediately, and binds the delegation of the Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina that is conducting the talks to regularly inform the Assembly of its work.

Karadzic Urges Regeneration at Party Conference

LD3011152295 Belgrade SRNA in Serbo-Croatian 1427 GMT 30 Nov 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Sarajevo, 30 Nov (SRNA) — In his opening address to the 14th session of the Main Committee of the Serb Democratic Party of Serb Lands [SDS SZ] in Pale today, Dr. Radovan Karadzic, president of the Serb Republic and chairman of the party, underlined the importance of constructive conduct by political forces in the forthcoming period, because the Serb Republic is at a crossroads.

"We are alone now. Our enemies are less important at present. It is much more important that we regenerate our political structures and the nation, lest internal forces should clash and waste the results of our struggle," Karadzic said.

He stressed that "the establishment of the Serb Republic is a watershed event in Serb history."

The Serb Republic president said that SDS SZ and similar national parties bear huge responsibility for the strengthening, independence, and unification of the Serb state.

Dr. Karadzic recalled that SDS SZ was set up five years ago and that "this short period of time saw epochal changes, changes not recorded in the history of the Serb people so far."

The session of the SDS SZ Main Committee, which began at 1100 this morning, continued behind closed door after the address by President Karadzic. A statement will be issued after its conclusion.

Pale Citizens Rally To Support Sarajevo Serbs

LD3011152795 Belgrade SRNA in Serbo-Croatian 1427 GMT 30 Nov 95

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] Pale, 30 Nov (SRNA) — By observing a minute of silence in memory of dead fighters and civilians of the Serb Republic and listening to the strains of the anthem "God of Justice" [Boze Pravde] today at 1300, the citizens of Pale began a rally in support of the citizens of Serb Sarajevo, which will be included in the Croat-Muslim federation under the Dayton agreement.

The rally was organized under the slogan: "People of Serb Sarajevo, do not give yourselves up — we stand by you." The main messages that are being sent to the international community read as: "We support peace but we will not surrender Serb Sarajevo;" "We do not surrender the graves of our dearest." [passage omitted]

Croats' Komsic To Continue Fight for Posavina

AU3011141995 Sarajevo OSLOBODJENJE (Bosnian) in Serbo-Croatian 25 Nov 95 p 2

[Interview with Ivo Komsic, ethnic Croatian member of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Presidency and HNV president, to BH-PRESS; place and date not given: "We Shall Not Give Up Bosanska Posavina"]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] [Passage omitted] [BH-PRESS] When you said that approaches to the issue of Bosanska Posavina differed, did you mean that our delegation was divided on the issue?

[Komsic] Everybody in our delegation made the same political assessments of Bosanska Posavina being lost to the Federation, but not to the state of Bosnia-Herzegovina, as it remains whole. However, I must say that emotionally we did not all see it in the same way.

We knew that we had to make this compromise because a triple pressure was exerted on us. First, Milosevic's delegation exerted pressure by invoking an agreement

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with Tudjman, then the delegation of the Republic of Croatia exerted pressure on us to accept such a solution for Posavina, and the Americans, as mediators, exerted pressure because they were aware that an agreement was in the making. We were reconsidering the entire agreement with this solution for Posavina ,and were thus calling the negotiations completely into question; thus we would have to continue the war without any help, because the Americans and the Contact Group members had told us very clearly that if we broke off the negotiations, they would completely withdraw from the region and leave us on our own.

[BH-PRESS] What are you, as president of the Croat National Council [HNV] of Bosnia-Herzegovina, going to do to make it known to the Croatian people in Bosnia-Herzegovina, as well as in Croatia, that, with that agreement, President Tudjman has betrayed the interest of the entire Croatian people in Bosnia-Herzegovina, for whom he is allegedly fighting so fiercely?

[Komsic] By resigning, Federation President Zubak has warned the Croatian public of this, which does not satisfy us at all. What the HNV will do is not to accept it as a fait accompli. We are going to fight for Bosanska Posavina in our own way, just as we have been fighting for the survival of Bosnia-Herzegovina. With the constitutional provisions from Dayton, we have preserved the single Bosnia-Herzegovina as a state with key institutions. We are going to try to mitigate the fact that Bosanska Posavina remains under the administration of the so-called Serb entity. Nevertheless, for us this remains a territory on which Croats used to live, territory that the Croats used to share with the Bosniaks and Serbs. The Croats own great property there. According to the Constitution, that property cannot be appropriated, and in our way we shall strive for these people to return to their homes and have their property back, because this right has been guaranteed to them.

This is now the only means left and we must use them to the maximum. Therefore, we are not going to give up and we have a lot to do about these people in Bosanska Posavina.

As regards Croatian President Tudjman, I must say that he assessed all the Dayton arrangements from the point of view of the Croatian state, and not so much from the point of view of global Croatian interests and the interests of the Croats in Bosnia-Herzegovina. He behaved as a statesman and was probably wanting to round off the process of constituting Croatia within its internationally recognized borders. However, such actions are obviously to the detriment of the Bosnian Croats. I think that Bosanska Posavina being within the Federation represents the greatest obstacle to the Bosnia-Herzegovina Serbs' idea of greater Serbia, and this is the only place of strategic value for Bosnia-Herzegovina as well. I do not understand how the Croatian leadership did not see that it is in their strategic interest as well.

Croat Official Explains Bitterness Over Accord

LD3011233395 Zagreb HTV Television in Serbo-Croatian 1830 GMT 30 Nov 95

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] The Dayton agreement has provoked particularly stormy reactions among the Croats from Bosanska Posavina, who have borne the biggest burden in the war and who have suffered most. In this connection we have invited Mr. Vitomir Coskovic, president of the Posavina grand county's assembly, to be our guest. Good evening, Mr. Coskovic, and welcome to the program.

[Coskovic] Good evening.

[Announcer To start with, in view of the reactions so far, we have an exceptional opportunity to ask you personally for your general assessment of the Dayton agreement and your views on the Croat political representatives of Bosnian Posavina at the Dayton agreement.

[Coskovic] Above all, I can say that we are in a state of shock, and this later resulted in certain meetings and standpoints of the political representatives and people of Posavina. This is, I would say, a state of disappointment and embitterment with the entire outcome of the Dayton agreement. The people of Posavina will bear in mind all the fighting that has gone on in Posavina, and all the casualties, and they will bear in mind all the ethnic and all other indicators of the area of Posavina in which they lived before the war — about 160,000 Croats — and other elements which justify our cause, and we expect and hope that this area becomes what it should be, namely a Croat area and a Croat grand county, as envisaged in the constitution of the [Bosnia-Hercegovina] Federation. [passage omitted]

Croats' Prlic Justifies Initialing Peace Accord

AU3011203995 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1800 GMT 30 Nov 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Jadranko Prlic, vice president of the Government of the Republic and the Federation of Bosnia-Herzegovina and the defense minister in the government, referring to the accusations by the Bosnian Posavina Croats that he was not authorized to initial the Dayton Accord in their name, said the following in a statement for the B-H PRESS news agency:

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The agreement was not signed, it was merely initialed. I took part in the final version in which we offered three times as much territory in return for Bosnian Posavina. This, evidently, was not accepted. Finally, a question arose as to whether the agreement would be accepted at all and I, personally, could not take the responsibility for being the one who would decline to put his initials on the document and, by doing so, put us in a situation similar to that the Serbs are in at present. Instead of me, the accord would have been initialed by Croatian Foreign Minister Mate Granic in the name of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Federation. Is this acceptable for the Croats and the Bosniaks in Bosnia-Herzegovina? Well, [FRY Foreign Minister] Milutinovic signed in the name of the Serb Republic. This must be kept in mind when we speak about this problem. Also, the talks had ended by then and the agreement would have been implemented regardless of who had initialed it, Deputy Prime Minister Jadranko Prlic, among other things, said in a statement for B-H PRESS.

Article Argues for 'Special Status' for Bugojno

AU0112114495 Zagreb HRVATSKI OBZOR in Serbo-Croatian 27 Nov 95 pp 20-21

[Article by Miljenko Karacic: "It Will Not Work Without International Supervision"]

[FBIS Translated Text] By the package of agreements in Dayton, the world powers have given the largest support hitherto to the Federation of the Croats and the Bosniaks as the sequel to the internationally recognized state of Bosnia-Herzegovina, in which the Serbs, who have attacked the other two constituent nations, will have their republic, too. When the Federation was established, the world powers assessed that the position of two towns, Mostar and Sarajevo, was essential. Therefore, the administration of the European Union is intended for Mostar, while there have only been words about Sarajevo as a town under the control of the United Nations. True, Sarajevo has informally been under international control, thanks to the role of the victim, who was generously "given presents" by the Serbs from the nearby hills and Olympic mountains. That control, of course, was incapable of preventing any of the shells shot at the largest cage in the world, in which only "missed people" could have survived. For that was the name the citizens of Sarajevo used for their fellow citizens who managed to escape sniper fire. Both Mostar and Sarajevo are marked as the key towns in the establishment of the Federation. Thanks to heavy pressure from the side, both Sarajevo and Mostar will nevertheless in the end become bright little stones in the still insufficiently solid Federation mosaic. However, another Bosnian town could destroy that mosaic — the town of Bugojno. In this town, the transformation of the Municipal Assembly into the Municipal Council, as the Constitution of the Federation of Bosnia-Herzegovina orders, is stuck. The transitional Municipal Council in Bugojno has not been established although all the deadlines for such have expired. The first, constitutional session of the transitional Municipal Council was to take place as early as 10 June. The representatives of the Croatian Democratic Community [HDZ] from Bugojno arrived at the session, but the meeting was not held, because agreement was not reached on who would preside over the session, nor on how the key municipal duties would be distributed.

And in fact there should be no vagueness in those questions. The rules of the game had been determined by the Washington documents, which were later on confirmed at the Constituent Assembly of the Federation of Bosnia-Herzegovina. The assembly session was to be presided over by the president elected in the multiparty elections toward the end of 1990. In Bugojno, this is Vladimir Soljic, the person with the same first and family name as the present Herzegovinian minister of defense, who is a candidate of the victorious party, HDZ. The party that is victorious in those elections is entitled to the main head position in the municipality, and that is the position of the head of the Municipal Council.

Where Are Bosniaks?

Everything is clear, but that does not suit the Bosniak leader in Bugojno, Dzevad Mlaco. It has been a public secret that this local power-wielder has vowed that there would not be a Croat at the head of the Bugojno municipality. The leading parties of the Bosniak and Croatian nation in Bosnia-Herzegovina, the SDA [Party of Democratic Action] and HDZ have reached a high-level agreement on solving the issues of disputable municipalities, like Bugojno. In that painstaking process of agreeing and making concessions, the Croatian side has agreed to a precedent hitherto unheard of. The Croats have agreed that the session of the Bugojno Municipal Council be presided over by Vera Jovanovic, trustee for the Federation. At the agreed time, at 10 o'clock last Monday, she appeared in Bugojno. However, to the host's big surprise, the Croatian representatives, twenty-six of them, appeared as well. Twenty-one of them were from the HDZ, two from the Reformers, two from the Party of Democratic Changes [SDP], and one from the Party of Private Initiative. The session was to begin at 10 o'clock, but the hall was cold, and there were no Croatian emblems, so the beginning of the session was postponed for noon. New negotiations of the representatives of the two nations followed, and, at high noon, Croat-

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ian emblems found their way into the hall. Meanwhile, Bosniak representatives were not there. Somebody had ordered them to withdraw. Not even after another twenty minutes of waiting did the situation change, so that the Croats, who had come from all over Europe, retreated humiliated and tricked once again.

"The gentlemen from HDZ took to the session some people who had no mandate and could not make decisions in the Assembly. They have persistently been undermining the Federation," Dzevad Mlaco, cool as a cucumber, dropped this brick, while disputing the mandate of the oppositional representatives from the Croatian nation.

"That is not so for the first time. It is clear who has got the mandate of representative in the Bugojno Municipal Assembly. These are the people who won the confidence of the electorate in the 1990 elections. Mr. Mlaco claims that those cannot be the ones who left Bugojno, and that only the leadership of their party can appoint new opposition representatives. In other words, now Nijaz Durakovic should determine who is to be SDP representative in Bugojno. For that, the gentlemen forget that the mandate of a representative is not suspended, even if he changes party during his mandate," Zdenko Cosic, secretary general of HDZ of Bosnia-Herzegovina, who was also present at the Bugojno farce that took place while they were arguing indecisively in Dayton about the signing of the package of agreements.

Bugojno As Pilot Project

Having eliminated Croatian oppositional representatives, Mlaco in fact wants to provide for a majority for the Bosniak side, the majority that would by becoming a majority deprive the Croats of the function that both by the election results and the census results, and the Constitution of the Federation, is granted to them. All this would not be so dangerous if Mlaco were not more powerful than the major people in the party he belongs to. For example, Mirsad Ceman, secretary general of the SDP, regularly shows tolerance and understanding in talks with the heads of HDZ, and is one of those who contribute to the approaching of the stands.

Bugojno has also become the pilot project for the return of the displaced. Two hundred Croatian families are to return to Bugojno, while 200 Bosniak families should return to Jajce. The highest-level agreements have also been reached. Muhamed Cero, minister for the refugees in the Government of the Republic and the Federation, and his deputy Martin Raguz, who is also head of the Office for Displaced Persons and Refugees of the Government of Herzeg-Bosnia, have exerted themselves to prepare for the project to be realized. However, Dzevad Mlaco has also made an appearance there in his style. He has delivered a list of Croats who could return to Bugojno. Ivan Miletic, chairman of the Bugojno Municipal Council, tells us that some families were included who never left Bugojno at all, or some who had returned earlier, even some dead people. All this tells us how difficult it will be to establish federal relations, despite the instructions of Roberts Owen, international arbitrator, and the efforts of Vera Jovanovic, the government's trustee in charge of the Federation. And if the Croats do not return to Bugojno, there can be no talk of the Federation as seen and as imagined by the world.

Only Croats Are Ready

Before the unfortunate war, whose end can fortunately be seen on the horizon, one has to say that in the Bugojno municipality, on 366 square kilometers, there were 46,849 inhabitants. According to the 1991 census, there were 19,724 Muslims or 32.1 percent [as published], 15,963 Croats or 34.2 percent [as published], 8,854 Serbs or 18.9 percent, and 2,302, that is 4.9 percent of the others. According to the cadastre records, 65 percent of the land belongs to the Croats, 20 percent to the Serbs, and 15 percent to the Bosniaks. According to the election results, in the Municipal Assembly, 21 representative were from the HDZ of Bosnia-Herzegovina, 20 of them were from the SDA, nine from SDS [Serbian Democratic Party], and 10 representatives from all oppositional parties, among which there were four Croats, three Bosniaks, two Serbs, and one Macedonian.

Vladimir Soljic, the elected chairman of the Bugojno Municipal Assembly, says:

"The Croats were the only ones who prepared themselves for the beginning of the war in Bugojno. We strongly resisted the Serbian aggressor and saved the population and the town. Fifty-seven members of the HVO, of which five were Muslims, have been killed in battles with the Serbs. A total of 191 Croats have been killed in battles with the Muslims, and still nothing is known about the destiny of twenty-six Croats taken away from the camp at the 'Iskra' soccer club stadium. More than 3,000 Croatian houses and apartments have been plundered, 1,480 family houses have been blown up and burned down, and more than 1,000 damaged. There were around 3,000 Croats in Bugojno until the signing of the Washington treaty, there are only 1,374 now."

Special Status for Bugojno

More than 6,000 inhabitants of Bugojno have expressed their wish to return to their town. However, the return

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will not be easy. After the liberation of Donji Vakuf almost all the Bosniaks from that town left Bugojno. Some of them called the owners of the houses they were living in, the Croats, to hand over the keys to them, but the municipal authorities prevented the return of the Croats. Because of the aforementioned figures and procedures, Bugojno should certainly get a special status in the Federation. Something similar to Mostar or Sarajevo. Only under close international supervision will it be possible in the once most developed municipality in the territory of former Yugoslavia to realize one of the conclusions from Dayton — the return of all the displaced persons to their homes. The case of Bugojno is in no way a local issue. In fact, by its geo-political, economic, and its entire strategic position, Bugojno is the basic condition of survival of Croatianship and the Croats in central Bosnia. And there will be no Federation without Croatian people, fully equal to the other constituent nations. After all, Dayton has unequivocally confirmed that.

In Dayton it was also clearly stated who would not be able to participate in the next elections in Bosnia-Herzegovina. If one really wants peace in this area, and the genuine establishment of federal relations on an equal footing for the federal partners, then tomorrow there must be no place in the bodies of authority for such people like the actual leader of Bugojno. First of all, the Bosniaks should square the accounts with such people. And other peoples should treat their own individuals, for whom time ran out already a long time ago, in that way. Not so that tomorrow all sides will have an equal number of culprits guilty of everything, or to get things back to the previous situation, but because of the time that flies from those who are indecisive and incapable.

UN Commander Fears Serb Scorched-Earth Policy

AU0112102495 Paris AFP in English 0453 GMT 1 Dec 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Rennes, France, Dec 1 (AFP) — The commander of UN troops in Sarajevo, French General Jean-Rene Bachelet, hit out in an interview published Friday at the Dayton accords on the future of Bosnia-Hercegovina.

He was particularly worried about the provisions for Sarajevo, which under the accords to be signed in Paris in two weeks will be an undivided city under Bosnian government control.

The agreement has angered residents of majority-Serb areas still held by rebel Serb troops, who will have to give them up.

Bachelet, speaking to the French regional newspaper OUEST-FRANCE, said it was unimaginable that the Serbs should allow Bosnian police to regulate their affairs.

"If the Serb army has to pull out, thousands of civilians will flee," the general warned. "There is scarcely any doubt that before going the Serbs will implement a scorched-earth policy."

In that case, "one might see on every television screen the deplorable sight of French troops controlling the traffic while houses burned," he predicted.

Bachelet claimed that chief US negotiator Richard Holbrooke, who was instrumental in forcing through the agreement, "had only one aim, to obtain at whatever cost an agreement to eventually serve the electoral interests of an American candidate."

The reference was apparently to US President Bill Clinton, who faces re-election next year.

Bachelet expressed the view that the status of Sarajevo was improvised at the last minute to compensate the Bosnians for the recognition of the Serb Republic which will rule half of Bosnia-Hercegovina, the other half being in the hands of a Moslem-Croat confederation.

If the late French leader General Charles de Gaulle had been in Dayton, "he would no doubt have slammed the door," Bachelet said, adding that French troops in the new NATO-led peacekeeping force for Bosnia risked finding themselves having to carry out a mission which France did not support.

"If we are not careful the situation will become intolerable for those of us in charge of a process created by others," Bachelet added. "If the operation fails, it is we French who will be held responsible."

Croats Burn Homes in Areas Due To Return to Serbs

'Balkan Welcome' for Returnees

AU2411153995 Paris AFP in English 1443 GMT 24 Nov 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Sarajevo, Nov 24 (AFP) — Bosnian Croat forces have begun torching homes in parts of western Bosnia captured during a summer offensive but due to return to Serb control under the Dayton peace agreement, UN officials said Friday.

About a dozen homes have been burnt down in Sipovo and Mrkonjic Grad, two towns in western Bosnia under Bosnian Croat control, UN spokesman Alexandre Ivanko said. Under the terms of the Bosnian peace accord signed this week by the Balkan Presidents of Serbia, Croatia and Bosnia, the towns are to be returned to the Serbs.

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"Burning down houses seems to be the Balkan welcome for anyone returning home," Ivanko said. "We have probably seen a dozen houses being burnt down and we hope these activities will cease. We are extremely concerned with these reports and hope that is is nothing more than isolated cases of vandalism."

UN peacekeepers do not have access to the area since they are preventing visiting territory under the control of Bosnian Croat forces. However, aid agencies have been in the two towns and officials say the Croats are pursuing a "scorched earth policy".

"It's essentially a scorched earth policy. There's a lot of destruction, it's widespread," UNHCR spokesman Kris Janowski said. "It's also very idiotic because this is also happening the areas that are going to remain in Croatian hands. (Furthermore) the Croatian government could end up having to pay for the destruction carried out by its own troops."

In the Dayton agreement, there are arrangements to compensate property owners for houses and land damaged or lost in fighting or any land swap. The Dayton accord will divide Bosnia roughly equally between the Bosnian Serbs and Moslem-Croat federation. Both sides will have to give up swatches of land in an exchange to take place under the auspices of a NATO implementation forces.

Elsewhere in Bosnia, UN military spokesman Lt. Col. Chris Vernon said a UN base in Velika Kladusa, had been looted by government forces in the early hours of Friday.

Bosnian government soldiers entered the base in northwest Bosnia where 80 UN Bangladeshi troops were waiting to be leave and "took what they thought fit against the protests of the Bangladeshis," Vernon said.

The spokesman said details of the incident were sketchy and he did not know what the response of the Bangladeshi forces was.

Croatian Army Continues Burnings

LD2711162895 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1443 GMT 27 Nov 95

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] Banja Luka, 27 Nov (TANJUG) — The Serb villages of Sitnica, Cadjavica, and Donje Ratkovo on Mt. Manjaca, and others in the area between Banja Luka, Kljuc, and Mrkonjic Grad are in flames again today, TANJUG has learned from Serb military sources. [passage omitted] Judging from this, the Croats do not want to spare anything Serb in the area, because according to the Dayton agreement, the area is an integral part of the [Bosnian] Serb Republic. The Croatian Army should leave it once the peace documents are signed in Paris.

International observers have been informed about the crimes of the Croatian Army, and several international news agencies have filed reports on Croatian scorched-earth policy. Despite this, the arson continues.

UN Rights Envoy Talks With Banja Luka Officials

LD3011155395 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1525 GMT 30 Nov 95

[By Milos Solaja; "pool" item]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Banja Luka, Nov. 30 (TANJUG) — U.N. human rights rapporteur Elisabeth Rehn told reporters she and Bosnian Serb Banja Luka officials had discussed Thursday the difficult situation in the western Bosnian region and particularly the possibility of a return of refugees.

According to the Bosnian Serb refugee headquarters, about 205,000 Serbs fled northwestern parts of the Republika Srpska (Bosnian Serb Republic) during September's military offensive on the area by Bosnian Muslim and Croat forces, assisted by Croatian regular army troops.

The Bosnian Serb Republic is also taking care of 22,000 Serbs of the estimated 260,000 who had fled the neighboring northern and southern parts of the republic of Serb Krajina during Croatia's military offensive last May and August.

The Republic of Serb Krajina was proclaimed in 1991 in Serb ethnic and historical territories after Croatia unilaterally and forcibly seceded from the former Yugoslav Federation.

Most of the refugees from northwestern parts of the Bosnian Serb republic and the Republic of Serb Krajina have been accomodated in the Banja Luka region.

Rehn said she was pleased to get open answers from Banja Luka Mayor Predrag Radic and Security Service chief Brana Pecanac regarding the grave situation in the Banja Luka region, of which she was fully aware, as well as the questions relating to missing persons in the area, the growing number of criminal offences in the past several months and the conduct of police members.

Radic expressed hope that the announced opening of the office of the U.N. Human Rights Commission in the biggest Bosnian Serb town would result in appropriate informing of the international public about the situation in the region.

Rehn on Thursday morning also met with officials of the International Committee of the Red Cross in Banja

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Luka, and visited the Bosnian Serb Commissariat for Refugees.

On Wednesday evening, Rehn met with Bosnian Serb new government mandatary Rajko Kasagic to discuss the overall situation in the Bosnian Serb Republic, particularly the problems of refugees, paramilitary groups and two French pilots captured by Bosnian Serbs after their plane was downed during NATO's air strikes on Bosnian Serb civilian and military targets last September.

This is Rehn's third visit to the Bosnian Serb Republic and the Banja Luka region since she took office a few months ago.

Her predecessor Tadeusz Mazowiecki had visited the region twice, the last time two years ago.

Expects 'To Find the Truth'

AU3011192495 Banja Luka Srpska Televizija in Serbo-Croatian 1930 GMT 29 Nov 95

[Telephone report by Zeljka Spremo from Bijeljina]

[FBIS Translated Text] On her tour of the Serb Republic, Elisabeth Rehn, new UN official for human rights issues for the territory of the former Yugoslavia, visited Bijeljina today, where she met with Serb Republic Vice President Nikola Koljevic. During her first visit to the region, she intends to get an insight into the situation on the ground, and possibly also to dispel misconceptions about the Serb nation and the mistaken belief that the world has had since the beginning of the war in condemning the Serb nation and blaming it for all te crimes and terror committed on the territory of the former Bosnia-Herzegovina and former Yugoslavia.

Serb Republic Vice President Nikola Koljevic emphasized that this is the right time — as peace is in the offing and the propaganda is no longer so powerful — to reveal the truth, and that Mrs. Rehn will be given all assistance to that end. "I believe the lies and falsehood that were told about us, our plight, and our people will soon be debunked," added Vice President Koljevic.

Elisabeth Rehn said that her stay in Bijeljina and meeting with the representatives of the state leadership and representatives of Serb Republic humanitarian organizations is a good start to her mission, and added: "I am very optimistic about my mission and expect to find the truth, which I believe is the most important thing."

Mrs. Rehn left for Banja Luka this afternoon. It was announced that she would visit several other Serb Republic towns, where she will be acquainted with the humanitarian situation as well as with the situation regarding human rights and liberties in the region.

War Crime Committee Gathers Facts on Susak, Boban

AU3011155195 Rijeka NOVI LIST in Serbo-Croatian 27 Nov 95 p 6

[Unattributed report including statements by Mirsad Tokaca, chairman of the Bosnia-Herzegovina State Committee for the Gathering of Facts Related to War Crimes; place and date not given: "Indictment For Gojko Susak, Too?"]

[FBIS Translated Text] The news that the indictments against Kordic and Blaskic [Herzegovinian Croat political and military leaders] are only part of a bigger package was garnished with the announcement of possible legal proceedings against Croatian Defense Minister Gojko Susak. We have tried to check that information with Bosniak sources, where they confirmed that there was testimony about the arrival of the Croatian minister in Prozor by a Croatian Army helicopter, a couple of days before the HVO [Croatian Defense Council] took that town over militarily. Those who are better informed about the genealogy of the Croatian-Bosniak conflict will remember that the war between the Bosniaks and the Croats in Bosnia- Herzegovina started with that action. If this testimony is authentic, the Croatian minister could be accused of involvement in the war against the Bosniaks, as well as suggesting the involvement of the Croatian Army in provoking the conflict. The responsibility for the crimes committed against Muslims, according to our sources, will be investigated in separate zones of responsibility. Thus Tuta Naletilic, according to the material gathered, could be held responsible for the "cleansing" in Mostar and its surroundings, Tihomil Blaskic and Ivica Rajic for Ahmici, Stupni Do, and Kiseljak, Dario Kordic for Busovaca, and Ivo Lozancic for Zepce.

Those responsible will also be looked for in relation to the 77 camps or assembly centers in Herzeg-Bosnia in which, in the worst conditions, Bosniak detainees were imprisoned and executed. The sources claim that the heads of these centers and their superiors will be charged with the responsibility for several hundreds of Bosniaks killed in those "centers." "It is impossible not to know what was happening to thousands of Bosniaks in those camps," we were told. The Bosniak side mentions Mate Boban [former leader of the Herzegovinian Croats] as one of those most responsible for the "assembly centers," as well as some individuals from the present leadership of the Republic of Croatia.

Article 3 of the Geneva Convention on the prevention and punishment of the crime of genocide also refers to those who directly and publicly encourage genocide.

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In a conversation with Mirsad Tokaca, chairman of the State Committee for Gathering Facts on War Crimes, we have found out that the Bosniak side will be taking legal proceedings against some Croats based upon that article, too.

"We will certainly be taking legal proceedings against such people, but it is very difficult to gather the relevant data, owing to the media blockade under which we find ourselves in Sarajevo. We hope that we will soon be able to use other archives. Perhaps even those in Croatia," Mirsad Tokaca told us. "Otherwise, that is one of our major problems. We would also necessarily need testimonies from people on the other side, for example, of Croatian citizens of Busovaca, Vitez, or Mostar, HVO soldiers, and so on. If the Federation develops, we will probably be granted access to those people. I do not doubt that we will find out a little more. Even German soldiers themselves after World War II spoke up about their crimes. I believe that, sooner or later, their consciences will awaken. There were attempts on our part to establish cooperation with a similar committee in Zagreb in 1992-1993, but there was no response at all."

Asked whether he was collecting data on crimes committed by members of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army against Croats, Tokaca answers: "We are not selective on facts on crimes. Every criminal is the same for us. Our committee collects all data related to war crimes in Bosnia-Herzegovina, and who will be accused here, we do not know. We know, for example, about the events in Neretvica, and so on. However, in the same way, our investigation will help to have some fabricated crimes of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army discarded as groundless. We would be glad if everything related to the war crimes in Bosnia-Herzegovina were based exclusively upon the facts."

Diplomatic Relations Established With Greece

Iran's Velayati Given Credit

AU3011200095 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1800 GMT 30 Nov 95

[FBIS Translated Text] The foreign Ministers of Bosnia-Herzegovina, Iran, and Greece, Muhamed Sacirbegovic, 'Ali Akbar Velayati, and Carolos Papoulias respectively, held a news conference this afternoon.

Immediately at the beginning of the news conference, Ministers Papoulias and Sacirbegovic signed a protocol on the establishment of diplomatic relations between the Republic of Greece and the Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina. Great merit for the action by which the diplomatic relations between these two countries have been established goes to 'Ali Akbar Velayati, foreign minister of the Islamic Republic of Iran. Mirko Pejanovic, member of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Presidency and president of the Serbian Civic Council, emphasized this fact with gratitude in his own name and in the name of Tatjana Ljuic-Mijatovic, member of the State Presidency, who also attended the news conference.

On that occasion, Mirko Pejanovic voiced a belief that the establishment of diplomatic relations with Greece will have a positive influence on the establishment of peace and the integration of the Serbian people into the Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina.

Trilateral Talks Held

AU3011200195 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1800 GMT 30 Nov 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Alija Izetbegovic, president of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Presidency, received Iranian Foreign Minister 'Ali Akbar Velayati and Greek Foreign Minister Carolos Papoulias. They are both visiting Sarajevo within the framework of trilateral talks between these three republics.

With the Iranian ambassador [as heard] President Izetbegovic discussed the Dayton Accord and the upcoming international meetings concerning the implementation of this accord. It was assessed that the Dayton Accord was a step toward peace despite the injustices it contained.

Greek Minister Papoulias handed a written message from Greek President Konstandinos Stefanopoulos to President Izetbegovic, in which it is stated: In the name of the Greek people and in my own name, please receive my congratulations on the occasion of the signing of the historic agreement in Dayton. This agreement, which was reached thanks to you personal contribution and efforts, promises a lasting peace and prosperity in the region. In this historic moment I would like to extend my sincere wishes to your excellency and to the people of Bosnia-Herzegovina, and assure you that Greece, in close cooperation with the international community, will continue to give its contribution to the establishment of peace and stability in this part of Europe.

Iran's Role in Cooperation Praised

LD3011222395 Tehran Voice of the Islamic Republic of Iran First Program Network in Persian 2030 GMT 30 Nov 95

[FBIS Translated Text] The Bosnian foreign minister has said trilateral talks between Iran, Bosnia, and Greece have had valuable achievements.

According to the Central News Unit from Sarajevo, at the trilateral talks between the three countries in Sarajevo on Thursday, the Bosnian Foreign Minister

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Mohamed Sacirbegovic said: Initially we were not expecting the trilateral meeting to result in such valuable achievements.

He said: We have the best of relations with the Islamic Republic of Iran, and this has led to closer relations between Bosnia and Greece.

Following the signing of the memorandum of understanding for the establishment of relations between Bosnia and Greece, the Bosnian foreign minister hoped that Belgrade would join such cooperation in the future in order to establish peace in the Balkan region as well as a united Bosnia.

The Greek Foreign Minister Karolos Papoulias expressed satisfaction about the achievements of the trilateral meeting and said there was a need to strengthen the achievements.

He said good Iranian relations with Greece and Bosnia caused the progress of the meeting and the cooperation between the three countries.

Iran's Velayati Arrives To Meet With Izetbegovic

'Ready To Help' Bosnian People

AU3011154895 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 30 Nov 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Iranian Foreign Minister 'Ali Akbar Velayati arrived in Sarajevo today to meet with President of the Presidency Alija Izetbegovic and Foreign Minister Muhamed Sacirbegovic.

Following his arrival at Sarajevo airport, Velayati said that Iran is ready to help the Bosnian people and Government in all spheres where aid is needed. We will review all issues, Velayati said.

Yesterday, Velayati met in Zagreb with Croatian President Franjo Tudjman. Tudjman and Velayati discussed mutual cooperation between Bosnia-Herzegovina, Croatia, and Iran.

Izetbegovic Lauds Iranian Aid

LD3011151295 Tehran IRNA in English 1502 GMT 30 Nov 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Tehran, Nov. 30, IRNA — Foreign Minister of the Islamic Republic of Iran, Dr. 'Ali Akbar Velayati, arrived in Sarajevo on Thursday heading a political delegation on an official visit to Bosnia-Herzegovina. The foreign minister was warmly welcomed by the Bosnian counterpart Muhamed Sacirbegovic and a large number of the people of Sarajevo.

Velayati told reporters that his visit to Sarajevo was aimed at surveying the situation in the region, especially in Bosnia-Herzegovina after new international political developments.

He said the during his stay in Sarajevo practical ways for reconstruction of Bosnia-Herzegovina and the participation of the Islamic Republic of Iran in this regard, will be reviewed.

Among other topics to be brought up and discussed is the tripartite cooperation among Iran, Croatia and Bosnia-Herzegovina, he said. Velayati said that Iran has always supported, and is still supporting the oppressed people of Bosnia.

Later in the day, Velayati conferred with Bosnian President Alija Izetbegovic and studied the latest situation in the Balkans and new conditions prevailing in the region in the aftermath of recent political developments. The Bosnian president lauded the Islamic Republic of Iran for its assistance to and support for the Bosnian Muslims since the beginning of the crisis in his country.

Velayati announced Iran's readiness to continue rendering assistance to the people of Bosnia-Herzegovina.

The Iranian foreign minister arrived in the Bosnian capital after his one day visit to Croatia where he held talks with high ranking Croatian officials.

Discusses Balkans With Sacirbegovic

LD0112103695 Tehran IRNA in English 0829 GMT 1 Dec 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Tehran, Dec. 1, IRNA — Iranian Foreign Minister 'Ali Akbar Velayati and his Bosnian counterpart Muhamed Sacirbegovic in Sarajevo Thursday night discussed the latest developments in the Balkans, Bosnia-Herzegovina in particular.

Velayati, heading a political delegation, arrived in Sarajevo earlier on Thursday for an official visit to the republic.

The two sides also reviewed ways in which Islamic countries can help reconstruction effort in the war-torn republic as well as further expansion and consolidation of Tehran-Sarajevo cooperation in political, economic and cultural fields.

At the meeting, Velayati said although the Dayton agreement was not satisfactory, however, as the Bosnian president had said, it was better than war. He stressed that under the status quo Islamic countries should help Bosnia especially in its reconstruction effort. The Iranian foreign minister remarked that Iran, with its rich experience gained in the course of the 8-year (1980-88) 'Sacred Defence', could have active participation in the reconstruction of Bosnia and in implementation of its development projects.

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Meanwhile, Sacirbegovic briefed his Iranian counterpart on the latest situation in his country and called for continuation of bilateral cooperation in political, economic and cultural fields. Elaborating on economic situation in his country, the Bosnian foreign minister called for participation of Islamic countries in making investment there.

Pointing to the Serb crimes against Bosnian people and violation of their legitimate rights, the Bosnian foreign minister called for Iran's support at international courts for the restoration of the rights of the Bosnians.

Velayati also met with Bosnian Vice-President Ejup Ganic during which the two sides reviewed the situation in the Balkans as well as international developments and issues pertaining to the Islamic world. Ganic lauded Iran's assistance to the Bosnian people and called for active participation of the Islamic Republic in the reconstruction of Bosnia-Herzegovina.

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President Sets Up Advisory Presidential Council

LD3011231595 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1600 GMT 30 Nov 95

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] On the basis of Articles 94 and 106 of the Constitution of the Republic of Croatia, the president of the Republic has adopted a decision on the formation of a presidential council as an advisory body to the president of the Republic and on the appointment of its members.

The Presidential Council will meet from time to time to discuss constitutional issues within the competence of the president of the Republic, with the aim of coordinating the activities and decisions of the top state bodies on current and long-term questions of state policy, in order to ensure adherence to the Constitution, the preservation of democratic order, the strengthening of our international position, and the economic, cultural, and social development of the Republic of Croatia.

The Presidential Council is composed of permanent members and members who take part in its work in particular areas. At the invitation of the president of the Republic, other people may also take part in the work of the council.

The following are appointed permanent members of the council: Vlatko Pavletic, president of the Assembly; Zlatko Matesa, prime minister; Hrvoje Sarinic, former prime minister and chief adviser to the president of the Republic; Franjo Greguric, former prime minister and chairman of the Committee for Elections, Appointments, and Administrative Affairs of the Assembly Chamber of Deputies; Nikica Valentic, former prime minister and deputy in the Assembly; Jadranko Crnic, president of the Constitutional Court; Krunislav Olujic, president of the Supreme Court; Katica Ivanisevic, president of the Assembly Chamber of Counties; Pero Jurkovic, governor of the National Bank of Croatia; Vladimir Seks, vice president of the Assembly Chamber of Deputies; Zarko Domljan, vice president of the Assembly Chamber of Deputies; Jadranka Kosor, vice president of the Assembly Chamber of Deputies; Stjepan Radic, vice president of the Assembly Chamber of Deputies; Drazen Budisa, vice president of the Assembly Chamber of Deputies; Ivo Sanader, head of the office of the president of the republic; Ivan Milas, keeper of the state seal and deputy in the Assembly; Ivan Aralica, vice president of the Assembly Chamber of Counties; Mate Granic, deputy prime minister and foreign minister; Borislav Skegro, deputy prime minister responsible for the economy and finance; Jure Radic, deputy prime minister and minister of development and reconstruction; Ivica Kostovic, deputy prime minister responsible for humanitarian affairs and minister of science and technology; Ljerka Mindas-Hodak, deputy prime minister responsible for internal and social affairs; Miroslav Tudjman, acting head of the office for national security; Gojko Susak, defense minister; Ivan Jarnjak, minister of internal affairs; Bozo Prka, minister of finance; Davor Stern, minister of the economy; Bozo Biskupic, minister of culture; Ivic Pasalic, deputy in the Assembly and adviser on internal affairs to the president of the Republic; Branko Miksa, mayor of Zagreb; Marko Skreb, economic adviser to the president of the Republic; Ivan Valent, secretary general of the Croatian Democratic Community [HDZ] and deputy in the Assembly; Zlatko Canjuga, deputy in the Assembly and adviser on social affairs to the president of the Republic. [passage omitted]

Gordan Radin, head of the office of the president of the Republic, is appointed secretary of the Presidential Council.

This decision comes into force with immediate effect, according to the statement from the office of the president.

General on Slavonia, Prevlaka, Military Priorities

LD0112000195 Zagreb HTV Television in Serbo-Croatian 2145 GMT 30 Nov 95

[Interview with Corps General Anton Tus, head of the office for international military cooperation, by Pihomir Ladisic in Zagreb — live; from the "Slikom na Sliku" program]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] [Ladisic] With us this evening in the "Slikom na Sliku" studio is Corps General Anton Tus, head of the office for international military cooperation. Good evening and welcome, Mr. Tus.

[Tus] Good evening.

[Ladisic] Well, we have seen this plan for a large military operation in Bosnia-Herzegovina. It will, in part, also make use of the territory of the Republic of Croatia. To what extent has Croatia prepared for this operation, and to what extent will it in fact be part of this operation in Bosnia-Herzegovina?

[Tus] Well, I must say at the outset that I have the clear impression that it is not possible to carry out this operation without the involvement of Croatia. So most of the forces... [changes thought] A small part of this force, I can say it openly, will come from the east via Belgrade, or somewhere perhaps to the south — this is perhaps some 5 percent of the forces. So 95 percent will come through Croatia. [passage omitted]

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[Ladisic] You said that this problem could have been solved in another way, not through a protectorate. With what kind of force and in what time span do you think the problem of eastern Slavonia could be solved?

[Tus] I believe that we can expect the international community to understand the problem and understand that Croatia can no longer wait, because Croatia is capable of capturing and regaining control of that area. Croatia will not tolerate such a threat. It will give an adequate mandate with which we will cause the return if the area without Croatia launching any military operation.

But this means that the forces must be adequate, similar to what is being done in Bosnia, and the mandate must be clear and precise, not like the mandates of UNPROFOR [UN Protection Force] or UNCRO [UN Confidence Restoration Mission Operation]. [passage omitted]

[Ladisic] How much time will Croatia allow to see whether these forces can indeed implement the mandate? And how long will it be then before a new Croatian decision is reached in connection with these occupied areas?

[Tus] I think that three months is the most we can allow. We should not... [changes thought] We must exert pressure so that we know where we are after three months: Is it being implemented, or will it not be implemented?

And then adequate measures should be taken to compel the international community to make the implementation, or else Croatia will have to deal with it. We cannot leave this problem unsolved.

[Ladisic] In addition to the eastern Slavonia problem, the end of the UNCRO mandate opens up another problem which is the presence of international forces and observers in Prevlaka. Do you think that this problem should also be discussed and resolved, and in your opinion how should Croatia resolve the problem of Prevlaka?

[Tus] Well, I do not see that there is a problem with Prevlaka. I think that some people bring it up unnecessarily. The problem of Prevlaka was resolved in 1992, with the departure of the JNA [Yugoslav People's Army]. They wanted to maintain their forces on Prevlaka. Croatia, in the negotiations, prevented the JNA from remaining there. So the area is devoid of armed forces. Only observers remain. So Prevlaka never became a UN sector, but there are only observers who can monitor what happens. So this is not something which we should worry about in terms of what will happen. I have seen some speculation about some kind of exchange, or security zones — a lot is written about this. So we could discuss this.

[Ladisic] Now that you have raised this question. Some have mentioned the possibility of exchanging Prevlaka for the Dubrovnik hinterland. Would this be justifiable in military terms?

[Tus] No. Absolutely not in military terms. In military and strategic terms, you see, from Split to southern Dalmatia, i.e the whole of the southern part of Dalmatia, it is too critical, exposed; it is narrow and difficult to defend — especially the southern bit, from the Neretva estuary downwards. This is a problem which we will be faced with forever. There is no cut-off point — not 10 km or 15 km — that resolves the problem of the south of Croatia. That is our point of view. We have an armed force on our border: the Navy in the Bay of Kotor; in this area, in the Lustica Peninsula and so on, they have missile and other artillery bases, etc — right along the border. So they are a threat to us. We do not threaten Montenegro and the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, but they are threatening us. We and they must find alternative solutions. [passage omitted]

If we were to give up any part of this — you know what this would mean? You would be going into the sea — not only the territorial waters. Let us say we give them 20 kilometers. This is hypothetical, because there is absolutely no question of this; do not let anyone misunderstand me here. But this would mean another 20 or 18 km into the sea, 12 nautical miles. So you would be giving away 400 square km of territory, not counting land. In addition, you would be giving away 140 km up to the (?continental shelf) in the Adriatic, times 20 km, this is nearly 3,000 square km, and you would have to give up the sea, too [as heard]. And this would be giving the right to use the sea to another country, including the seabed and everything there. So there is no comparison and no question of this. [passage omitted]

[Ladisic] Does all this mean that Croatia is at the moment bent on creating security and a balance of power? Does it mean that, after the lifting of the embargo, Croatia will make an appearance on the international market and purchase as many weapons as it needs for active defense?

[Tus] It will have to set certain priorities.

[Ladisic] What are these priorities?

[Tus] Croatia will certainly have to deal with the most important things: firepower and sufficient ability to maneuver, speed of movement; command at both the lowest level and at a strategic level, the communication part of the system. Then we get to the sophisticated weapons, such as those of the air defense, Air Force,

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and Navy. When I spoke about firepower, I meant tanks, guns, and so on. But you cannot procure all this at once.

[Ladisic] How long will the process of armament be?

[Tus] Around 10 years. If the state can afford it, at a greater speed, perhaps double speed. Economically, we will probably not be able to afford it. This is why it will take much longer. We will have (?a certain might). In a more stable region, if Serbia were not what it is, if we do not have trigger-happy neighbors, we would not need to allocate more than 3 or 4 percent of the gross domestic product. If we have to buy arms, we will have to give 5 or 6 percent. [passage omitted]

Iran's Velayati 'Happy' With Bosnian Peace

AU2911152295 Paris AFP in English
1512 GMT 29 Nov 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Zagreb, Nov 29 (AFP) — Iranian Foreign Minister 'Ali Akbar Velayati on Wednesday said Tehran was pleased the "genocide" of fellow Moslems in Bosnia was over, but expressed reservations over the U.S.-brokered Dayton peace deal.

"We are happy to see that this genocide in this part of the world has finally ended," Velyati told reporters after meeting Croatian President Franjo Tudjman.

Iran will provide aid to help Bosnia and Croatia reconstruct their countries, Velayati said, without elaborating.

Iran has been one of the major aid donors to the mainly-Moslem government in Sarajevo and the Organisation of Islamic Conference agreed Wednesday to build up Bosnia's military strength to enable it to defeat any "future agression."

OIC representatives, meeting in Tehran, discussed sending "military, economic, humanitarian and judicial aid" to Bosnia, officials said, without providing details.

Iran on Tuesday criticised the Dayton accord as being "unjust" to Bosnia and urged fellow OIC countries to aid Bosnia militarily and economically.

Velyati said that in his talks with Tudjman, he had discussed trilateral cooperation between Bosnia, Croatia and Iran.

Croatian Foreign Minister Mate Granic said that during the discussions Tudjman had "expressed his satisfaction at Iran's support for the Croat-Moslem federation and particularly for trilateral projects."

He did not detail what projects were involved.

Velayati, who arrived in Zagreb on Wednesday accompanied by a large Iranian delegation, was to travel to Sarajevo on Thursday.

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Former Republics Develop Strategy on Succession

AU3011191195 Skopje MIC in English 30 Nov 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] The meeting of government representatives from Slovenia, Croatia, Bosnia and Herzegovina and Macedonia [The Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia—FYROM], who are coordinating a common strategy for protection from the one-sided usurpation of the estate of the former SFRY by FRY, continued in Ljubljana yesterday.

According to sources of Radio NOMA, the delegations of these four countries, led by Miran Mejak, Sasko Georgievski, Bozo Marendic and Dzevad Derviskadic, have agreed on a strong common appearance.

It was agreed at the meeting to use the formula of the IMF for such and similar cases, in the determination of the criteria for division namely, the participation of each republic in the GDP, the balance of payments, the foreign trade balance, and the number of inhabitants.

According to these criteria, Slovenia would receive 16.4 percent, Macedonia 6 percent, Croatia 28.7 percent, and Bosnia and Herzegovina 13 percent. Most of the estate of the former SFRY still goes to FR Yugoslavia, amounting, altogether, to a total of 36.5 percent.

Spokesman: Prime, Foreign Ministers Agree on Name

AU2911183095 Skopje MIC in English 29 Nov 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] At his own initiative, minister-spokesman Gjuner Ismail commented yesterday the speculations that, allegedly, Prime Minister Branko Crvenkovski and Foreign Minister Stevo Crvenkovski hold different views on the issue of Macedonia's name. According to those speculations, Prime Minister Crvenkovski allegedly has a hard stance, and minister Crvenkovski, a "moderate" stance on this question. Ismail energetically denied these rumors, stating that both members of government have identical stances.

Yugoslav Chamber of Commerce on Customs Duty

AU3011191095 Skopje MIC in English 30 Nov 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] The decision of the Federal Government in Belgrade to introduce customs duty toward Macedonia [The Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia—FYROM], is assessed in the Yugoslav Chamber of Commerce as very damaging. The president of the Chamber of Commerce Vlajko Stoiljkovic, apparently very irritated, stated, according to the BETA agency: "Ours introduced customs duty, ask Zebich and Premierre Kontich." Stoiljkovic did not say what the decision of the Federal Government was like, however, he said he though it was "nonsense" and that the Serbian Chamber of Commerce will ask for completely duty-free trade wiith Macedonia, which he said, was in the interests of both countries.

According to the recently signed agreement between businessmen from Macedonia and Serbia, the duty on all goods should amount to 1 percent, i.e. to pay only the customs expenses.

The Prishtina customshouse confirmed yesterday that the international observers have left the border point General Jankovic, following the suspension of the sanctions against FRY. As the Belgrade agencies report, the import of goods is carried out normally, with the "necessary" customs formalities. It is not stated whether the customs formalities are in accordance with the decision of the Federal Government and the reciprocal measure introduced by the Macedonian Government.

Article Urges Greater Openness in Investigation

AU3011152795 Skopje NOVA MAKEDONIJA in Macedonian 30 Nov 95 p 3

[Article by Z. Petrov: "The Authorities Are Hiding From the Public"]

[FBIS Translated Text] It has been nearly two months since the attempt on the life of President Kiro Gligorov of the Republic of Macedonia [The Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia—FYROM], and the investigation is still a mystery. There is no information about its activities, or about what bodies are included in the investigation, let alone whether there are any clues, suspects, or arrests....At the interior minister's news conference over a month ago, a few facts and findings were presented that raised more questions than they answered. Moreover, at the same news conference, Minister Frckovski undertook to to present any subsequent information about the course of the investigation. Much time has passed since then and the authorities are, however, simply "shrouded" in silence.

There is a stereotype in the relationship between the official investigative bodies and public opinion according to which nothing can be said because that is "in the interest of the investigation." This gives rise to absurd situations. For instance, with the desire to provide information about the course of the investigation, yesterday we called District Court investigative judge Zdravko Vasilev. He is the man in charge of the whole pre-investigative procedure and the single person responsible for coordinating the activities and the actors in the investigation. He told us that he was very busy until the end of this week and did not have time to make any statements. Nevertheless, he promised us that he might spare us a few minutes during the course of next

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week and brief us about the point that the investigation has reached. In the Interior Ministry, the situation is even more "delicate." There, only the minister approves discussions with journalists, and so, in spite of Deputy Minister Stojan Trenevski's readiness to tell us more about the criminal police's activities, we did not have any success.

In the absence of official information, speculation is rife. Recently, for instance, a report circulated that the Interior Ministry has arrested a number of people suspected of direct participation in the assassination attempt on 3 October, among whom there are two Macedonian citizens.

Alongside this, another story has circulated that the police have allegedly come across information that indicates that a service of another state was involved in the whole case. These two reports, we recall, have not been officially confirmed by the authorities.

Reviewing the official information, we can conclude that there is practically no concrete information. For instance, at his news conference on 26 October, Interior Minister Ljubomir Frckovski remarked that a financial and economic group from a neighboring country had been involved, without mentioning names; that a few days before the assassination attempt a foreign citizen had assembled the explosive somewhere in the "suburbs of Skopje," without revealing his identity; and that some Macedonian citizens had been the direct executors, without saying whether they have been discovered and arrested, and so on. Nearly a month has passed since the interior minister's public appearance and since he promised to explain all these announcements. Not only has he not done so, but one has the impression that the Interior Ministry and investigative judge are closing themselves behind a wall of silence, making every possible effort to prevent any leak of information. In any case, unofficial speculation, hypotheses, and assumptions are becoming more labored and we are reaching the stage in which the opposite effect to that intended is produced by concealing information from the public.

Democratic Party's Gosev Wants New Elections

AU2511143395

[FBIS Editorial Report] Skopje PULS in Macedonian on 24 November on pages 26-28 carries a 5,000-word interview with Petar Gosev, president of the Democratic Party (DP), by Sinisa Stankovic entitled "There Can Be No Democ cy With 'Private Dinners'." In the interview, the place and date of which are not given, Gosev discusses his recent visit to the United States, his party's view on the accord signed with Greece, the chances of achieving consensus in the country on vital questions, his personal assessment of the assassination attempt against President Gligorov, his view that the last elections were rigged, the development of democracy in the country, crime, and his views about the forthcoming local elections.

Speaking about his recent visit to the United States, Gosev says: "The aim of the visit was to expand my knowledge about the rich experience in the functioning of the democratic institutions and institutes in the United States, to expand my knowledge about the functioning of the essential institutions (including international ones) in directing economic trends, to become familiar with and exchange opinions of a political nature with many representatives of the U.S. Administration, and to present our views about the current situation in Macedonia [The Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia—FYROM], in particular because we think that they do not know enough about us and because it is a fact that at this moment the United States has no competition in having the strongest influence on international economic and political relations."

About his attitude toward the recently signed Interim Accord with Greece, Gosev claims that if his party comes to power, it will try to "expand relations with the neighbors and promote Macedonia's position in the region," but he adds that it "will remove the weak points from the accord, which are not compatible with the rights and interests of our people and state."

Asked about rumors that the verbal discord among Macedonian parties could destabilize the country, he says that this can be avoided only if a system that will "relativize all opposing interests and accept the interests of every individual and group of common interests as legitimate" is formed, if the dream of a "state party" is abandoned, if crime is stopped, if there are fair and democratic elections, if employment is improved, and the standard of living raised.

When he is questioned about the possibility of achieving consensus on vital questions in Macedonia, Gosev says that before answering one should ask "who defines the most important state and national interests." He goes on to say that "there was a consensus on peace in Macedonia, on the economic and political system, and on integration in European institutions and associations." He continues by saying that his "overall answer is that consensus on some questions is possible, that it exists explicitly or implicitly, but that sometimes there is is a lack of critical awareness, political culture, and a sense of imperative responsibility for establishing consensus more quickly and effectively."

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His opinion about the assassination attempt on Gligorov is that "it is an attack against the institution of the president of Macedonia and the policy of the positioning of Macedonia that is personified in the figure of Mr. Gligorov." He believes that "the Third of October is not, nor has it become, a demarcation line between the opposing global political orientations in Macedonia. Not because of the fortunate circumstances that left Mr. Gligorov alive and—I believe—totally capable of performing his state functions, but above all because of the deep and strong force of the will of the entire Macedonian people and of all the citizens of Macedonia, to endure in the struggle for a sovereign, independent, and democratic Macedonia. Nevertheless, 3 October is a very big warning and a horrible paradigm that teaches us some lessons:

- A. Even the most subtle decisions for the Macedonian state must be prepared and adopted through the largest democratic procedures in which all relevant political subjects are included. It is not enough if only those present at a 'private dinner' think and know things;
- B. The struggle for power is productive only if it is waged through the clearly defined differences in the political programs and legally agreed procedures that guarantee the advantage for civil democracy, and not through personal clans within the framework of only one group of common interests which, as we know from our own history, ends up with bloody mutual showdowns;
- C. Macedonia will continue to be the target of destabilization in the minds of the old or some new local, regional, or continental map designers;
- D. Our only successful response is as follows: Permanent consensus on vital state interests, achieved through the appropriate democratic procedures, a substantial and continual expansion of civil democracy, and a successful response to the citizens' economic needs."

Regarding the orientation of the Democratic Party, Gosev explains that it has been declared as a party of the political center that supports "neither the left nor the right extremist wing."

Asked about the last elections and the fact that, in spite of the fact that the Democratic Party was a young party at the time, it obtained a large number of votes, but was hoping for more, Gosev says that he was sorry that the media took sides and did not come out with its own analysis on the elections, saying: "We do not even mention the clear assistance of the media, including your own weekly, and the state funds that were used and abused. So, you can judge for yourself whether our higher expectations were objectively founded or not." Concerning the responsibility borne by the whole opposition for the absence of parliamentary opposition in Macedonia today, Gosev considers that they could not be reprimanded for "failing to prevent the rigging of the elections. We can be blamed for some parts of the campaign that could have been 'elaborated' in a better manner, although that would not have generated substantial changes." He calls the current members of parliament "servile," and the ministers "arrogant." He calls for "new, extraordinary, early elections," because "the 1994 elections were definitely not democratic." He assesses that "the elections were manipulated and were made an instrument for taking power without democratic substance."

The next question refered to the Democratic Party post-election efforts to convince the international community that the elections were rigged, and whether the party had succeeded in persuading foreign forces of their view. Gosev himself asks: "Which forces and arguments made UN Secretary General Butrus-Butrus Ghali write in his report to the General Assembly that the elections in Macedonia were not completely regular? I do not believe that he did not have the reports (or statements) of the international observers."

Gosev is asked whether he fears that some of the members of his party "do not have clean hands," referring to the Democratic Party's election campaign slogan, to which he replies that he "should be asked about this when the Democratic Party comes to power. Until then, the responsibility is on those who have the executive, legislative, and judicial power, those who head the investigative bodies, the financial and other controls, and are responsible for the punishments and persecutions."

Asked for his view of the forthcoming local elections, Gosev replies that he "will offer his opinion after he has seen the new election laws and new election procedure, the new electoral lists and the mode of election-appointment of the bodies in charge of implementation of the elections."

Transparency of Political Parties Discussed

96BA0013A Skopje VECER in Macedonian 17 Oct 95 p 9

[Article by S. Kramarska: "Party Kitchens Yield Only Crumbs"]

[FBIS Translated Text] *How public is the work of political parties?*

The relatively densely "populated" political area in our country substantially determines the parties' possibil-

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ity for developing an independent political identity. Although in reality some 30 options are possible, actually differences among most political parties have diminished. The names of all of them include the word "democratic," which supposedly should guarantee the aspiration to communicate with the people, with the public.

However, as already noted by pedantic analysts, with increasing frequency the public is becoming separated from events within the parties themselves. The analysts emphasize the transparent nature of their founding at a time when greater membership was deemed necessary, pointing out that now, four years later, the parties are slowly becoming closed. This lack of openness is felt above all within the parties themselves, where elite cadres of people belonging to the party leaderships are being created. Such an attitude, which affects the membership, and, naturally, the separateness of one party from another, is most probably due to their reciprocal mistrust.

Strategy and Information

The answer Ljupco Popovski gave, from the Social Democratic Alliance, in response to these and similar statements, the purpose of which is to shape the theory of the extent to which the work of political parties is or is not open, is that the meetings of their central committees, let us say, are allegedly always open to the public. We have also had cases of executive sessions, such as the one in September, where the political and security situation in the country was discussed, but that is applied in exceptional cases only. The presidency of our party meets on a weekly basis, relative to parliamentary and governmental activities. However, for understandable reasons of a party-strategic nature, at such meetings we do not allow representatives of the public, Popovski explained. According to Ace Kocevski, from the Liberal Party, in this stage of development of pluralism and democracy it is usual for the meetings of the party's executive committee not to be attended by "guests." At such meetings, items of a strategic nature are discussed, followed by party resolutions issued to our ministers and representatives in the government and the parliament. In principle, the meetings of the executive committee are held twice monthly, while the republic committee meets once every two months, depending on the situation, or else more or less frequently, Ace Kocevski says, describing the role which the entire process plays in party communications and press conferences.

On behalf of the Socialist Party, Blagoja Filipovski mentions the republic committee's greater openness to the public. Its members are currently meeting only when necessary, whereas the executive committee meets almost always before a parliamentary session. As long as members of the public show an interest, our party will always be open for debate. Actually, in the past as well, all of our activities not covered by the press have been followed by a corresponding communication to the media, Deputy Chairman Filipovski says.

Dosta Dimovska, from the VMRO-DPMNE [Internal Macedonian Revolutionary Organization-Democratic Party for Macedonian National Unity], believes that so far the work of her party has been exceptionally open to the public. The dynamics of holding meetings of the central and the executive committees of the VMRO-DPMNE are quite active. We are even promoting the attendance of our broader membership at such meetings. The first constituent meeting of the central committee was open to the public. We make public the sessions of the executive committee to the extent to which we believe that it could and should be public, Dimovska said, pointing out that the newly elected committee members bring a new spirit to the work, resulting in the party's greater openness.

Closed Subjects

From a study conducted over a period of several years on the status and activities of political parties, Dr. Cane Mojanoski concluded that the work of their central party and, especially, their executive authorities takes place through communications. According to Dr. Mojanoski, the parties have used their own information facilities and final documents submitted to the citizens as a way to promote public participation. Furthermore, if necessary, views are disseminated also through public contacts with the citizenry. One could justifiably say that it is a question of closed subjects, strictly institutionalized, used for internal circulation of information only. The question is how much do we know of the differences among the parties. According to Mojanoski, our political parties are now applying the tactics of executive sessions which does not benefit either them or the citizens supporting them. He also points out the study in which out of 1045 interrogated subjects only 8.9 percent believe that party operations are entirely public; 27.47 percent mention restrictions affecting the public; 19.33 percent believe that the public is controlled, while 15.69 percent state there is no exposure to the public!

Obviously, the parties are making efforts to ensure the support of the public via their media, such as DEMOKRATIJA, LIBERAL, DEMOKRATSKI FORUM, GLAS, etc., and to avoid appearing unidirectional. In order to have a real and integral public something else is needed. On the basis of this need, in one of its stipulations, the Law on Political Parties emphasizes the presence of the public in the work of the parties. The question is the extent to which, for the sake of strategic and narrow party interests, the violation of this requirement is justified.

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Oleksy on Kwasniewski, Government Policies

WS3011155395 Poznan WPROST in Polish 4 Dec 95 pp 17-18, 20

[Interview with Prime Minister Jozef Oleksy by Marek Krol, Piotr Gabryel, and Boguslaw Mazur; place and date not given: "Two Conductors"]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] *[WPROST] Does Aleksander Kwasniewski's victory place you and your cabinet in a position that is more difficult than it was before 19 November?*

[Oleksy] No. Thus far cooperation with the president was marked by unnecessary conflicts. Now that Aleksander Kwasniewski has won the elections, cooperation between the government, the president, and parliament will run more smoothly and there will be more good will. The fact that the government platform is similar to that of the president will also make things easier. Certain difficulties could arise if the president came forth with suggestions different than those raised by the government, particularly if there was social tension. Throughout Lech Walesa's term, the autonomy of the government manifested itself in a public display of any differences of opinion with the president. Now that Aleksander Kwasniewski was elected president, I will think ten times before I publicly state that we differ in opinions, especially as that would imply that conflicts exist. Why the divagations, anyway? Cooperation between the president and the government will be good, because that is what Poland needs.

[WPROST] In times of the Polish Peoples Republic [PRL], when it was not clear who made the decisions, the guiding principle was that the party ruled and the government governed.

[Oleksy] Such comparisons are best avoided. They are not legitimate. We had neither a democracy, nor a constitutional system, nor distribution of power back then. The government was in reality a tool in the hands of the party. Now we have distribution of power and an opposition. The distribution of power will definitely not become clouded. We may face situations in which differences in opinion will be natural, although it is difficult to imagine differences that could be destructive.

[WPROST] The distribution of power between the particular centers is not explicit. This raises fears that an unconstitutional decision making center may appear.

[Oleksy] The emergence of such a center is out of the question. It could exist only within the ruling party. We do, however, have a democracy; the Democratic Left Alliance [SLD] is not the only party — there is an opposition. The current situation cannot be compared with the old system. The recurrent threats that a one-party system and the PRL are back are nothing more but doomsday prophesies.

[WPROST] The prerogatives of the president, however, are defined very vaguely. This enables him to reprobate the government.

[Oleksy] Lech Walesa was overly reprobative, very often out of the desire to wage a political war with the government. Aleksander Kwasniewski cannot be reprobative because he himself shares many of the opinions the government has arrived at. I believe President Kwasniewski will advocate a dynamic presidency and resort to his own constitutional powers, which are different from the powers and dynamism of the government. Otherwise, we would have two bosses on one playground. Many of the conflicts with Lech Walesa consisted in illegitimate attempts at dominating the government. I am very glad it is over and that we do not have to waste any more time on futile arguments as to who owns what and how one wants to boss the other around.

[WPROST] Aleksander Kwasniewski, however, claims the traditions of the small constitution should be continued.

[Oleksy] It is true that he supports the model of presidency that has been laid down in the small constitution. He does, however, stress the vagueness and shortcomings of its provisions. He has also said that the so-called presidential ministries should be forsaken and the bad traditions of "falandizing" the constitution [reference to Lech Falandysz, Walesa's aide who was known for his liberal interpretation of the law] should be abandoned. [passage omitted]

[WPROST] You intend to come forth with the names of candidates for heads of the so-called presidential ministries yourself. Have you obtained any informal approval from the president-elect to do so, or, taking advantage of the interim period, do you want to strengthen your position by adopting the fait accompli method?

[Oleksy] The constitution places me under an obligation to consult the names of candidates for heads of these ministries with the president. The president, however, is my colleague and friend; therefore. it goes without saying that we talk informally. Naturally, differences in opinion may appear at any time. They will, however, be resolved behind closed doors and — hopefully — not hit headlines in the media which crave scandal so much they sometimes invent it if they cannot find it.

Responsibility for the government rests with the prime minister. Therefore, I will suggest candidates to three ministries only after having consulted the president. I will certainly not suggest candidates I know Kwasniewski will not find acceptable.

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[WPROST] Are the SLD leaders still considering whether to form a "National Unity Front," that is, handing over the presidential ministries and posts at the Presidential Chancellery to the opposition?

[Oleksy] That is a bizarre concept. It is common for those who win elections to take full responsibility for the government. The idea of handing over government posts to representatives of the opposition is a result of the inferiority complex that some of the politicians developed after the last parliamentary elections. This complex — seemingly virtuous — is becoming ever less rational. Just like the faith of some politicians — particularly in the opposition — that the world's attitude to us depends on this, that the entire world would be thrilled if I suggested, for example, that someone from the Confederation for an Independent Poland head the Ministry of Internal Affairs. The truth is that the world would mull on this for a day, two at the most, and we would be left to solve the problems related to having opposition ministers on the cabinet. That is why I am not particularly keen to make such gestures.

The reason why so much attention is devoted to the appointments in these three ministries, particularly in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, is that over the last several years the role of the head of that ministry has become unique. This is going to change now. Aleksander Kwasniewski will be very active in the field of foreign policy because he knows a lot about it, he knows how to implement it, and — most of all — the constitution places him under an obligation to implement it. I myself feel at ease here and, at this very important time for Poland — on the eve of integration with Europe — I intend to continue my activities on the international arena, and even intensify them. That is why the new foreign minister should be a perfect organizer of the diplomatic services and a coordinator of foreign policies implemented by the particular power centers. He should not play the role of the chief authority who implements foreign policy on his own and acts as an oracle for the remaining power centers.

[WPROST] The opposition is making charges that ties between business and politics are tightening. Does the SLD have any idea of how to tackle this problem?

[Oleksy] Preelection hostility, manipulation, and making a scandal of something which did not bear even the slightest mark of illicit activity — that is one side of the so-called Polisa affair [insurance company scandal in which Mrs. Oleksy and Mrs. Kwasniewska were involved], and I find it deeply distasteful. However, the opportunity should be taken to deal with the issue of the involvement of institutions managing public funds in the activities of private companies. I have ordered that regulations be prepared as soon as possible on how public funds are to be invested in the market. I have also recommended that an amendment be prepared to the Anticorruption Law that the government approved some two weeks ago to provide for a mechanism of controlling the assets of public persons while they occupy state offices. One more conclusion — public persons and their families must be far more self-restrained than any other citizens. I agree that the prime minister's wife cannot always enjoy the same liberty to operate on the free market as other people who benefit from democracy and entrepreneurship. Public persons and their families must avoid situations which could give rise to public suspicion. *[WPROST] When you were asked in the beginning of September whether Kwasniewski's victory would imply large-scale social conflict, you said: "Such a conflict is possible, but not inevitable." Now that Kwasniewski has won, will there be conflict?*

[Oleksy] I do not think so; at least not because Kwasniewski won. Conflicts and tension may arise for economic reasons. We are currently facing the necessity of reforming the mining industry. The nation will feel the benefits in several years, but people who will be directly involved in the program of rationalizing employment might feel threatened, even though they will not be left to their own resources. The same goes for the steel industry. And others. It is also very important how those who lost will behave and how strongly embittered they are. I trust that the Church, which is exercising its authority to settle social issues, will appropriately evaluate the condition of the nation after the elections.

[WPROST] There is the prevailing belief within the SLD that social peace has its price, that taxes are to serve as a means of leveling incomes. However, would the coalition be capable of "betraying" its electorate for the sake of reforms?

[Oleksy] The government shall go on with the reforms and continue to implement the platform I outlined in the speech I delivered before the Sejm upon taking office. My determination in this respect will not wane. The electorate does not have any reason to feel betrayed or tricked, in spite of what others are trying to tell them. The fact that Aleksander Kwasniewski won the elections after two years of coalition rule is best proof of that. Since I believe that the coalition will be stronger now than it was before the recent elections, and because the parliament will continue to work until its term expires in two years, we still have some time to implement the program the voters approved. These voters will judge us in the course of the next parliamentary elections.

[WPROST] How big are the concessions the SLD is ready to make to prove that "Poland is for all"? Is it

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prepared, for instance, to ratify the Concordat or give up the liberalization of the Antiabortion Law?

[Oleksy] A further debate on the necessity of amendments to the Concordat while the Church staunchly refuses to have them introduced does not make any sense, and the issue has to be settled by vote. I believe some of the problems can be solved by methods other than refraining from making a final decision and without giving up reservations to some of the provisions.

As for the Antiabortion Law... you do not negotiate your views on this.

Pay Raises 'Huge Part' of Defense Budget

WS3011152395 Warsaw GAZETA WYBORCZA in Polish 30 Nov 95 p 2

[Article by "PW": "Salaries in the Polish Armed Forces; How Much Do the Generals Cost?"]

[FBIS Translated Text] The salaries of officers are too high, and the cadre structure of the Ministry of National Defense [MON] is not changing, claim a group of deputies from the Democratic Left Alliance [SLD] and the Freedom Union, criticizing next year's MON budget, which is being currently debated in the Sejm.

"A huge part of the budget is spent on salaries; the majority of officers in our Army are colonels and majors. This is a legacy of the Warsaw Pact, but why has nothing been done about it over the past six years?" asks Deputy Janusz Zemke (of the SLD).

According to confidential sources at the Finance and Cadre Department at MON, there are currently 341,000 senior officers ranking from major to colonel (in larger armies, for example, in Germany there are 264,000, in France 218,000, in Italy 126,000) and only 14,000 junior officers (in larger armies there are usually twice as many).

The deputies maintain this is one of the reasons that more than 64.7 percent of the defense budget is spent on salaries. They say that the salaries of senior officers, particularly generals, have been increased excessively over the past year.

The chart [not reproduced here] presents confidential information on how the salaries of Polish officers grew in 1995.

Cabinet's Oil Restructuring Plan Detailed

WS3011152495 Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 29 Nov 95 pp 1, 10

[Report by Jacek Czarnecki: "Government Adopted Oil Sector Restructuring Program; Ciech Still Uncertain"]

[FBIS Translated Text] *On 28 November 1995 the Council of Ministers adopted the oil- sector restructuring program. Nonetheless, the participation of the Import-Export Center for Chemicals and Chemical Equipment [Ciech] in Polska Nafta SA is not 100 percent certain. The government also did not approve the composition of the five-person board of Nafta Polska or the nine- person Supervisory Board. In line with the government, the decision to finally get the restructuring program off the ground is final.*

Nafta Polska SA will be set up by the finance minister by the end of December this year; he will earmark 1 million zlotys [Z] for the initial capital. Nafta Polska will consist of the following companies: the Plock Petrochemical Plant SA, the Gdansk Refinery SA, five southern refineries, and the Petroleum Products Center [CPN]. Polska Nafta SA will own 100 percent of the shares of all of these companies.

The government did not include private oil entrepreneurs in the structure of the holding company. They will be allowed to remain on the market and sell fuels under the producers' trademarks.

In the holding company there will also be no room for the Oil Pipelines Exploitation Company, which will remain a state-owned firm.

CPN SA, which was commercialized a few days ago, became part of Nafta Polska as one company. The Cistern Exploitation Management [DEC] and oil bases will be separated from CPN later.

One of the most important decisions made by the government is the fact that it will delegate one representative of the State Treasury to Nafta Polska SA. It will either be the industry minister (if the law provides for that), or the privatization minister. The legal doubts are to be dispelled by the lawyers of the Office of the Council of Ministers. As a result, the selected minister will be the sole owner of the companies comprising Nafta Polska SA. The previous versions of the program envisioned participation of more representatives of the State Treasury: the aforementioned ministers, as well as the foreign economic cooperation minister and the finance minister.

In line with the decision made by the cabinet yesterday, "Ciech may be part of the Nafta Polska SA structure." This will depend on legal decisions which will

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specify whether a company owned by the Foreign Economic Cooperation Ministry may be part of a structure supervised by another minister. If not, Ciech will be able to become an element of the oil holding company only after the treasury ministry is set up. Unofficial, but well-informed sources report that the decision makers agreed to Ciech's participation in Polska Nafta; however, they will not guarantee this company a monopoly on oil trade. In this, Ciech is less interested.

If Ciech were incorporated in the oil-holding company, then the share of its assets in the entire assets of Nafta Polska SA, estimated at approximately Z2.6 billion, would be approximately 3 percent. The value of the CPN SA contribution to Nafta Polska is approximately 45 percent and the Plock Petrochemical Plant SA — approximately 40 percent; the assets of the Gdansk Refinery SA and the five southern refineries account for the remaining 15 percent. The value of the Nafta Polska SA assets has been specified on the basis of balance sheet data and has little to do with the real, market value of the holding company. According to Industry Minister Klemens Scierski, an argument in favor of including Ciech in Nafta Polska SA is the company's ability to get a loan of up to $400 or even $500 million.

Refineries Linked to Retail Section of CPN

The government also decided to merge the capitals of the refineries and part of CPN. The refineries will be co-owners of 66 percent of over 1,300 filling stations which now belong to CPN; the bigger refineries will have a greater share. Thus, the Plock Petrochemical Plant SA will own the biggest number of stations (eight parts out of the 66 percent) [as published], the Gdansk Refinery will have three parts, and the southern refineries will have one part. The capital merger with the market of retail products, which the fuel producers demanded, is supposed to encourage foreign investors to spend capital in the refineries. Thanks to this, only those companies which invest money in the domestic oil industry will gain access to the most profitable retail market.

Privatization of Nafta Polska

According to Industry Minister Klemens Scierski, privatization of the refineries may begin in late 1996. Nafta Polska will not be privatized over the next two years. Participation of foreign investors is, according to Minister Scierski, a possibility, and it is even desirable. At the beginning, they will be able to purchase between 20 and 30 percent of the shares in the refineries. The previous restructuring program envisioned the possibility of increasing the interest of investors up to 51 percent, which would be possible after they met their investment commitments. In this program this will probably not be changed.

Protection of the Market

The program envisions the necessity of prolonging the effectiveness of the barriers protecting the oil market. On 8 December this year, a consultation council is to convene in Brussels which will respond to letters on the issue that Poland sent in late October. According to Minister Scierski, Brussels will agree to Poland's proposal. The restructuring clause should make it possible to prolong the effectiveness of import quotas until 1999. The same goes for tariffs, which for the next few years will be 15 percent in the case of gasoline and 25 percent in the case of diesel oil.

Free Prices

The program also envisions liberation of fuel prices. The decision on when this should happen is to be made by Nafta Polska SA after consultations with the Council of Ministers. Liberation of the prices will probably occur in the first half of 1996.

Jedlicze and Czechowice-Dziedzice as Treasury-Owned Companies

Today the Council of Ministers consented to transforming two state-owned oil refineries — Jedlicze and Czechowice-Dziedzice — into single-proprietor Treasury-owned companies. Two state-owned firms will remain in the oil sector: the Glimar Petroleum Refinery in Gorlice and the refinery in Jaslo. Industry Minister Klemens Scierski said that these refineries would be commercialized in the immediate future.

In recent days the battle over commercialization of CPN, which has been fought since this spring, finally ended. CPN was eventually commercialized as one company; DEC and oil bases will be separated from the company after Nafta Polska SA is established. The decision which envisions commercialization of CPN before separating DEC from its structures is likely to trigger protests of DEC employees, who have been fighting to split with CPN for years.

Tax-Free Economic Special Zone in Mielec Opens

96EP0004A Warsaw WARSAW VOICE in English 15 Oct 95 p 9

[Article by Andrzej Ratajczyk: "Now Entering the Buy-Right Zone"]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] The Euro-Park Mielec Special Economic Zone officially opened on October 9, but the zone will not actually start operating until the beginning

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of next year, when authorities issue the first permits to operate within the zone.

"The Mielec zone will be a symbol of the Polish economy's openness—openness that means free entry of foreign capital and free management of this capital," Prime Minister Jozef Oleksy said during the opening ceremonies.

The idea to establish a zone in Mielec was born three years ago, after a strike at WSK-PZL Mielec, the largest plant in the region. Authorities hope to reduce unemployment and boost small and medium-sized businesses in Mielec by granting investors tax breaks.

Tax breaks will only go to companies employing at least 100 people and investing at least 2 million European Currency Units (ECU). For some companies, the breaks will involve complete income-tax exemptions for 10 years and 50-percent exemption in the following 10 years. Other forms of preferential treatment include temporary real-estate tax exemptions.

In creating development guidelines for the zone, Mielec authorities worked with Ireland's International Development Ireland Ltd., which started the Shannon economic zone.

The zone will exist for 20 years. The Industrial Development Agency (ARP) will manage it, issuing permits to interested investors via tenders. The first tenders won't be carried out until January. The minister of industry has yet to issue appropriate decisions on the matter.

Euro-Park Mielec covers 575 hectares of land previously occupied by WSK-PZL Mielec (including a 350-hectare airport compound). The 12 big businesses there now operate in an area established after WSK-PZL Mielec was restructured. A number of smaller private firms also operate there.

The new investors will move into 110,000 sq m of production, warehouse and office buildings. The areas are equipped with basic infrastructure, including telephone lines, electricity and gas. ARP will invest about zl.10 million in the zone, buying electronic equipment for the airport, power lines and a new sewage system.

Though the zone needs all the investment it can find, some businesses will be off limits. Foreign Economic Relations Minister Jacek Buchacz says there will be a ban on alcohol and explosives production.

The zone has already attracted considerable interest from U.S., South Korean, Taiwanese and Western European companies as well as many Polish firms.

If everything goes well, the zone should create 10,000 new jobs. Unemployment in Mielec currently tops 20 percent.

Mielec is the first of what is sure to be many special economic zones in Poland. More than 20 provinces have expressed interest in creating zones. Ten of them should get them in the next two years.

"Still, we won't be creating special economic zones just to please someone or meet someone's illusive expectations that a special zone alone can change things," Oleksy said. "On each occasion, the government will carefully check if a given area meets the criteria for opening a zone."

Scientists' Study Projects Country's Development

96EP0004B Warsaw WARSAW VOICE in English 15 Oct 95 p 3

[Article by Piotr Dukaczewski: "Poland 2010"]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] A fully developed economy, relative prosperity, and a country of educated citizens is the vision that emerges from a report prepared by the Forecasts Committee working with the Presidium of the Polish Academy of Sciences (PAN).

The project committee, called Poland in the 21st Century, suggests a development strategy designed to bring Poland to a level equal to that of medium-affluent European Union countries.

The PAN scientists' report, while debating conditions for development into the next century, offers a diagnosis for the country in 1995. The main limitation, according to them, is Poland's inadequate production capacity. Its industry is outdated and unable to handle the requirements of competition in the world market. They believe the country's labor force is largely unprepared for a modern economy's needs. Dwindling raw materials and poor farming soil quality are also major weaknesses.

The scientists did acknowledge several advantages, including the country's intellectual potential. Young people will need the skills that will make them the economy's driving force. Today, Polish science is poor but educational standards are high, so the country has a chance to meet new challenges. According to The World Competitiveness Report 1994, in terms of intellectual potential, Poland ranks 26th in the world. As to general competitiveness, Poland holds 41st place, while it ranks 80th where Gross Domestic Product is concerned. Poland in 2010, though wealthier and more modern, will only be equal to less-developed EU countries like Portugal and Greece.

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Poland has a domestic market of nearly 40 million consumers. Located at the junction of major transit routes, it has experience in commercial contacts with Eastern European markets. Even though Poland has some ecologically degraded areas (which occupy 11 percent of the country's total area), it offers ecologically unique areas which can serve as a "green base" for Western Europe.

Over the next 15 years, Poles will have a full work load. To attain the goals specified in the study, Poles should embark on "an educational offensive and human investment," according to the PAN scientists. The economy should be geared towards export markets, promoting small private plants, and not dependent on big capital which is often lacking here.

As far as the external factors are concerned, the greatest threat to Poland would be posed by a destabilization of the world economy or political chaos in the former Soviet Union.

The previous central-planning system in the national economy, the Polish United Workers' Party (PZPR, the former communist party) regularly presented five-year plans which were largely incompatible with reality. The PAN scientists stress that their strategy is not based on theoretical assumptions but on objective market mechanisms and patterns already tested in other countries. The scientists said they are not offering a prediction but a study that should reach "every sensible Pole and stimulate hopes for a better tomorrow."

[Box, p 3]

Economy

- compared to the 1990's, Poland's Gross Domestic Product will increase by 75-100 percent
- consumption will grow by about 70 percent
- living standards will improve, and emigration for economic reasons will decrease by half
- one-fourth of the economy will remain state-owned (compared to 50 percent today)
- exports will rise, and the country's foreign debt will fall below $25 billion
- up to 40 percent of all hard-currency revenue will come from transit and tourism
- domestic debt will decrease

[Box, p 3]

Work

- a larger middle class will emerge
- wages will increase for people with university educations as compared to blue-collar workers
- 9.5 million youths will enter the labor market, while 7.2 million people will retire

[Box, p 3]

Environment

- sulfur, nitric oxide and dust pollution will be reduced to meet permissible levels

[Box, p 3]

Education

- secondary education will be available to a larger percentage of the population, including all children born in the 1990s
- around 30 percent of youths (compared to 20 percent today) will graduate from universities with fluency in foreign languages, computer literacy and technological skills

[Box, p 3]

Population

- population will exceed 40 million
- people of working age will represent half the population
- average life expectancy will improve (69-71 years for men, 75-77 years for women), mainly due to better health education

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Melescanu: Ready To Help IFOR; No NATO Base

AU3011135195 Bucharest ADEVARUL in Romanian 27 Nov 95 p 1

[Interview with Romanian Foreign Minister Teodor Melescanu by Bogdan Chirieac; place and date not given: "Romania Is Missing From Among the Peacekeeping Forces in Bosnia—Mr. Melescanu Avoids Answering ADEVARUL's Direct Questions"]

[FBIS Translated Text] [Chirieac] Mr. Minister, you seemed to be vexed by the assessment that Romania, the country most affected by the embargo imposed on Yugoslavia, risks becoming the very last beneficiary of the lifting of sanctions. This assessment is based on the fact that the list of the countries participating in the peacekeeping force includes, among others, Hungary, Poland, Slovakia, Albania, and Lithuania, but not Romania. Why were we omitted?

[Melescanu] Your assessment—that Romania risks becoming the last beneficiary of the lifting of the embargo imposed on Yugoslavia because the list of the countries participating in the multinational peacekeeping force under NATO command does not include Romania—"vexed" me because there is no causal connection between the two actions at all. The lifting of the embargo has a direct and beneficial economic impact on all the countries neighboring the Yugoslav space, which is a result of the importance of their relations with the newly emerged state entities in that region. Whereas participation in IFOR or the Implementation Force, as the multinational peacekeeping force is called, has political and military connotations. It is intended to demonstrate, by means of concrete action, that Romania's option to integrate within NATO, as a security-maker, is a firm and irreversible one.

[Chirieac] Did NATO show any interest in having Romania participate in the peacekeeping operations in the ex-Yugoslav region? If not, should we interpret this as a consequence of the statements repeatedly made by the Romanian authorities, according to which we will not participate with troops in the operations in former Yugoslavia?

[Melescanu] NATO did not show any interest in the participation of any particular country in the peacekeeping operations in the region of former Yugoslavia.

According to the NATO secretariat, IFOR participation is open to all countries wishing to contribute to the success of the peace process in Bosnia, and is, above all, is a political decision. With its logistical and humanitarian participation in IFOR, Romania wishes to confirm that it is a stability factor in the Balkans.

[Chirieac] Does the logistical support offer made by Romania's representative in Brussels include our assent to set up temporary NATO bases on the territory of our country? On Monday [20 November] Hungary officially announced the opening of such a base in Pecs. What can you tell us about our offer?

[Melescanu] The offer made by Romania's representative in Brussels does not include and cannot possibly include any temporary NATO base on the territory of our country. As you may know, decisions on such issues can be made solely by Parliament. The fact that NATO chose Hungary as a transit land and chose to use for logistical support a military camp that was closed down after the Soviet pullout, namely the one in Pecs, can only be explained by the geographic vicinity of that place. Pecs is only 50 kilometers from the area where they will deploy the IFOR troops, which is a major advantage from this point of view. In turn, Romania could offer facilities on its national territory to provide logistical support in the domain of communication among the troops participating in IFOR. As a matter of fact, the latter possibility is also mentioned in the letter handed over by Ambassador Constantin Ene to the NATO interim secretary general.

Authorities Seize Vessels Carrying Nuclear Fuel

AU3011195895 Bucharest Radio Romania Network in Romanian 1700 GMT 30 Nov 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Yesterday, the Romanian naval authorities intercepted two vessels sailing under the Bulgarian flag and loaded with nuclear fuel that were heading illegally towards Kozloduy [Bulgarian nuclear power plant], a communique of the National Commission for Control of Nuclear Activities has announced.

The two vessels, a tug-boat and a barge, carrying 106 containers with nuclear fuel, had raised anchor in the Ukrainian Port of Reni and were intercepted by the Romanian naval authorities at Hirsova and later stopped at Port of Cernavoda for identification and a check of the cargo.

According to the legislation currently in effect, the transition of the Romanian territory can be carried out only on the basis of an authorization issued by the National Commission for the Control of Nuclear Activities within the Ministry of Water, Forests, and Environment Protection, an authorization that was not requested or granted to the two vessels.

The investigation of the transporter has begun, and the Foreign Ministry has been asked to forward a note of protest to the ambassadors of Bulgaria, Ukraine, and Russia about illegal passage of the respective transport on the Danube River without legal authorization.

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Currently, the vessels and their cargo are being inspected by Romanian experts in order to evaluate the danger the cargo poses and return it to the sender.

PDSR Seen Distancing Itself From Extremists

AU3011184295 Bucharest CURIERUL NATIONAL in Romanian 27 Nov 95 p 3

[Article by Ralu Filip: "The PDSR Has Defined its Identity Within the Political Left-Wing"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Objectively speaking, the PDSR [Social Democracy Party of Romania] National Conference is one of the most important political events of the year. Therefore, without trying to examine what has happened during the two-day proceedings at the Palace Hall—anyway it would be too early—we believe that some remarks must be made regarding the conference, not so much about the prospects of the ruling party, but mainly concerning the future elections and possible governing formulas in the postelectoral period.

Judging from the documents adopted at the National Conference and from the addresses made by some marked leaders, it appreas that the PDSR has set itself three main strategic goals: domestically, the consolidation of the social market economy, based on large-scale privatization, and internationally, association with the European Union and with NATO.

Through these three objectives—not the only ones—the PDSR has dissociated itself from the parties that are located at the left extreme of the political spectrum, namely those that have different opinions.

On the other hand, by supporting the Romanian-Hungarian reconciliation, through the solutions advanced on the issue of minorities and through the assertion of the wish for Romania's association with the European Union and with NATO, the PDSR has also dissociated itself from the parties that were qualified by Adrian Nastase [PDSR executive president] at the conference as "nationalist-extremist."

In this situation, it will be interesting to see how the alliance with the PSM [Socialist Party of Labor] and the PUNR [Romanian National Unity Party] will continue, mainly in the light of the fact that the left-wing and nationalistic parties are currently not only the most critical about the PDSR but also the most feared adversaries in the electoral campaign (aspects noted both by some participants as well as by President Iliescu—see the message addressed to the National Conference).

In another line of thought, the documents adopted at the National Conference also comprise three messages addressed to different electoral strata. Two of these messages are extremely important because they are directed at the employees (who have been promised social protection) and the private entrepreneurs (who have been promised assistance and fiscal facilities). From this viewpoint, one can assess that the PDSR has a number of attractive arguments that can convince a great part of the electorate to grant their votes to the PDSR. However, it remains to be seen how the PDSR will succeed in reconciling both parties, that is, the employees, who are afraid of privatization, and the private entrepreneurs, who wish to accelerate privatization.

And a last remark: Through these three aforementioned objectives, the PDSR expresses more clearly than ever its social-democratic and, at the same time, its pro-Western option, something that will make the current accusations of communism, crypto-communism etc. unjustified, because they have no foundation in the PDSR documents.

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Government Recognizes FRY; To Establish Relations

AU3011163595 Ljubljana Radio Slovenia Network in Slovene 1430 GMT 30 Nov 95

[Report by Sonja Znidarsic — recorded]

[FBIS Translated Text] [Znidarsic] The government decision that Slovenia recognizes the FRY was presented by Foreign Minister Zoran Thaler at a news conference today:

[Thaler] As you have heard earlier, the Government of the Republic of Slovenia at its 30 November session adopted a conclusion to recognize the FRY and establish diplomatic relations between the Republic of Slovenia and FRY. At the same time, the government proposed that the FRY and the Republic of Slovenia open diplomatic and consular missions in Ljubljana and Belgrade.

Simultaneously, the Government of the Republic of Slovenia concluded that, in the circumstances following the initialing of the Dayton peace agreement, the time for the recognition of the FRY has come. Namely, the main objections due to which Slovenia had not recognized the FRY earlier have been removed, namely, we witnessed the signing of the peace accord and we are now witnessing a peace process that is in full swing, the United Nations sanctions against the FRY have been suspended, and the countries involved in the war have announced their mutual recognition.

[Znidarsic] The minister also emphasized that the FRY has already recognized Slovenia. He expressed hope that, in the continuation of the peace process, Macedonia [The Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia — FYROM], Bosnia-Herzegovina, and Croatia will also be recognized, therefore, that all countries on the territory of the former SFRY [Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia] will mutually recognize each other.

The government also passed a draft law on the establishment of economic ties with FRY today. Pursuant to the UN Security Council resolution on the suspension of the embargo, this document would, in brief, allow for the trade between our country and FRY. Here, Minister Thaler emphasized that our businesses are interested in resuming cooperation and that the state has been called to pave the way for the economy.

The establishment of diplomatic relations and the lifting of the trade embargo, for which the Dayton peace conference gave a green light, according to the foreign minister, facilitates the minimum of communication between the countries and is also creating a more solid basis for a more constructive continuation of the negotiations on the division of the former Yugoslav assets in Geneva.

Remains Opposed to SFRY Succession

AU3011165395 Ljubljana Radio Slovenia Network in Slovene 1430 GMT 30 Nov 95

[FBIS Translated Text] As could be heard on numerous occasions recently, Slovenia, Croatia, Bosnia-Herzegovina, and Macedonia [The Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia — FYROM] hold a unanimous position regarding the resolution of the property problems of the former SFRY [Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia]. This was also emphasized during yesterday's meeting of the Slovene and Croatian foreign ministers. Namely, the position is that all countries on the territory of the former Yugoslavia are equal successors to the assets. With the signing of the Dayton peace accord in Paris, which will take place on 14 December, the Croatian and the Serbian presidents will sign an agreement on mutual recognition. As we have learned, this agreement will include a clause by which Croatia will recognize the legal succession to the former joint state of the self-styled FRY. Croatia is convinced that this constitutes a political move that cannot have any consequences for the division of assets. The representatives of Bosnia-Herzegovina and Macedonia share a similar opinion, namely, that this is a political move. However, Slovenia sports a different view. Our country believes that the legal succession of the former state also involves property issues. The representatives of Slovenia, Croatia, Bosnia-Herzegovina, and Macedonia will try to coordinate the differing views at a special meeting prior to the signing of the peace accord in Dayton.

Kucan Meets EU, Belgian Officials in Brussels

On Peace, CEFTA, EU Membership

BR3011155395 Brussels LE SOIR in French 30 Nov 95 p 2

[Interview with Slovene President Milan Kucan by Edouard Van Velthem; place and place not given: "The End of the War in the Former Yugoslavia and the Future of Central Europe"]

[FBIS Translated Text] [Van Velthem] You are on a two-day visit to meet with Belgian and European authorities. You arrive at a key moment in the conflict in the former Yugoslavia, with which you are very familiar, as your country was part of Yugoslavia until it declared independence in June 1991. What faith do you have in the comprehensive peace agreement concluded in Dayton?

[Kucan] The end of the war does not yet mean a final peace. It is an agreement which can serve as a basis

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for introducing a progressive peace. As to the amount of faith to be placed in it, that will depend on how peace holds up in the field, and how the interests of the signatory parties are satisfied. But insofar as the aim of the war was to create nations by means of ethnic cleansing, I fear that the peace rewards this aim and this is why the process of reconciliation is likely to be long and difficult, in Bosnia and in the Balkans.

[Van Velthem] Do you believe the creation of an intervention force under NATO command in Croatia and Bosnia is going to be able to speed up the integration of the Central European countries into the Atlantic Alliance?

[Kucan] I do not believe the two elements are linked. The integration of the countries of Central and Eastern Europe, even in the framework of peace agreements, is possible by other means than direct participation in an international military force. The problem will be the precise role of this force: control and protection of the various demarcation lines, or supervision of respect for Bosnia-Herzegovina's external borders? If the former is the case, that could very quickly come to resemble the case of Cyprus.

[Van Velthem] Since its independence, Slovenia has expressed the desire to join the European Union. Have you been disappointed by the slowness of the process and the conditions which the West has attached to membership?

[Kucan] We did not choose for independence because we had a liking for isolation but, on the contrary, because we want to join the European Union as quickly as possible and, in this framework, assert our sovereignty and security needs. Disappointment is a subjective feeling, and I prefer to stick to the reality of the facts: Slovenia meets all the conditions required of countries which seek membership of the Union. But there remains one outstanding issue, our relations with Italy, and we are determined to resolve this.

[Van Velthem] What is the state of negotiations on Istria's minority of Italian origin?

[Kucan] We are at a standstill at present. But we must place this in a wider context, as it has a bearing on other international treaties. The position of persons who in the past opted for Italy rather than Yugoslavia was settled by the 1954 London Memorandum, and then by the Treaty of Rome in 1983. As to Slovenia's Italian minority, we provide them with an exemplary system of guarantees and protection, better than that required by European standards.

[Van Velthem] Is Slovenia's recent accession to the CEFTA (Central European Free Trade Agreements) with the Visegrad group of countries a reaction to the European Union's reluctance?

[Kucan] Quite the contrary. This association is a means of speeding up the development and economic growth of these Central European countries with a view to closer links with the European Union. It is not an alternative to the Union, but an initiative which is complementary to our integration.

[Van Velthem] Would you be tempted by renewed economic cooperation between the former Yugoslav republics, or even by a Balkan common market?

[Kucan] It is not by chance that the Balkans intrigue the European conscience in the way they do. But the time has come to debunk all of that. The Balkan states must themselves prove that they are able to live in peace and according to European standards. This is important to the continent as a whole. Slovenia is ready to help in this. We no longer want integration, but we are in favor of normal cooperation in a spirit of fairness and respect for mutual interests.

[Van Velthem] What is your assessment of the four years of independence? Has Slovenia escaped the disenchantment which is apparent elsewhere, in Hungary and Poland in particular?

[Kucan] The key objective has been obtained: Independence has revealed the great unity and common will of Slovenes. Citizens have retained their faith in this decisive choice, which confirmed our place in Central Europe, our return to the heart of the region to which we have always belonged in the past. But perhaps there have been cases of individual disappointment, among those who harbored excessive illusions about the changes. Also, the introduction of a multi-party system has somewhat pushed into the background the various movements, such as the pacifists or the ecologists, who were very active when we were part of Yugoslavia. But the changes have been gradually digested and civilian society is becoming very active again.

[Van Velthem] Slovenia lies at the crossroads of Central Europe, Western Europe, and the Balkans. Is this situation an advantage, due to the openness it permits, or a disadvantage due to the opposing influences it fosters?

[Kucan] Our cultural identity was forged over a very long period. And due to this geographical situation, the country's vitality is dependent upon our internal strength. At the same time, in opening up in all directions, it is easier to overcome the phobias which can be created when strengthening political, economic and cultural ties.

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[Van Velthem] Finally, to end with a more personal question. Which description do you prefer, "Southern Slav" or "Central European?"

[Kucan] The Slovenes are Southern Slavs who live in Central Europe and most certainly belong to its civilization, to its cultural and spiritual sphere. In order, I would therefore choose the following progression: We are first Europeans, of Central Europe. Then Slavs, Southern Slavs....

Briefs Reporters on Dispute With Italy

AU3011175095 Ljubljana Radio Slovenia Network in Slovene 1430 GMT 30 Nov 95

[Report by Edo Zitnik from Brussels]

[FBIS Translated Text] As was expected, President Kucan had to answer the questions of foreign reporters regarding the Slovenia-Italy-EU triangle. He said that Slovenia had already initiated the procedure for the change of the Constitution, as promised. As this was the condition for the signing of our associate membership agreement, there is no reason for the latter not to materialize. When asked specifically when the Slovene Constitution would actually be changed, President Kucan replied that it would be as soon as possible. He voiced surprise at the EU's concern over this issue, which is the condition for the ratification of the signed agreement by all 15 EU members. Therefore, following the signing of our agreement, the 15 countries will still have a security mechanism to make sure that Slovenia actually changes its Constitution.

According to Kucan, this also suits Slovenia because a poor coordination of our legislation with the EU would led into our self-imposed isolation.

In an interview for the Slovene Radio and Television, President Kucan also criticized the Slovene foreign policy. He said that our policy is not sufficiently clear and transparent, and for that reason the EU often does not have a clear picture of what we actually want. This, of course, creates ideal ground for the Italian maneuvers behind the scenes. The consequence of the Slovene-Italian dispute is also a rapid decline in the EU's allure for the Slovenes. The president pointed out that only 56 percent of Slovenes favor joining the EU, while 80 percent had been in favor a year ago. When asked how to alter the above trend, the president replied that, in politics, public opinion could not be the sole guiding principle, but the long-term national interests, too. For Slovenia, these still lie within the EU.

As for our opinion on the Dayton Accord, the president warned foreign reporters that Slovenia is open to economic cooperation with all the republics of the former Yugoslavia, but that this does not mean that it would agree to cooperation that would involve the reintegration of the countries of the former Yugoslavia. The president also emphasized that NATO troops alone will not be able to bring peace to Bosnia. Bosnia-Herzegovina, according to Kucan, needs an overall integration, which will be influenced by numerous factors. Regarding the prospects of the peace accord, Kucan said that one cannot speak of the Serbian separatism as the only threat in Bosnia.

This afternoon, Kucan will be received by the president of the European Commission, Jacques Santer.

EU Cannot Mediate in Dispute

AU3011214695 Ljubljana Radio Slovenia Network in Slovene 2100 GMT 30 Nov 95

[Report by Edo Zitnik from Brussels]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] The position of the European Commission toward the Italian veto on Slovenia's associate membership in the European Union did not change even after today's meeting of Slovene President Kucan with its president, Jacques Santer. Santer insisted that this was a bilateral issue in which the commission could not do anything. When asked whether we could already speak about the concrete political damage caused by Slovenia lagging behind other associate members in Europe, Santer replied negatively. As for the legal succession of Yugoslavia, Santer's reply was more specific. According to him, the frozen assets of the former Yugoslavia were the property of all its successors. This, however, does not mean that all 15 members sport the same view on this issue. [passage omitted]

President Kucan was also received by Belgian King Albert II this morning. They discussed bilateral issues and the situation in the former Yugoslavia following the signing of the Dayton Agreement. President Kucan invited the king to visit Slovenia, which he accepted.

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Federal

'Position of Inequality' at Red Cross Rejected

LD3011143795 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1350 GMT 30 Nov 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Geneva, Nov 30 (TANJUG) — The state delegation of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia has warned that the basic principles of international humanitarian movement were being politicized and violated.

As the head of the FRY mission at the United Nations in Geneva Ambassador Vladimir Pavicevic told his Swiss counterpart Walther Geiger Wednesday evening, the Belgrade authorities do not wish to attend an International Conference of the Red Cross and the Red Crescent as a guest, as such an offer places them in a position of inequality with other participants, among other things.

This decision on the status of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia at the forthcoming conference was taken by a working group comprising United States, Russia, Morocco (on behalf of the Organization of the Islamic Conference), the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC), the International Federation of Red Cross and Red Crescent Societies and Switzerland as the host country.

Before the working group met, Switzerland, ICRC and the federation had invited FRY to attend the conference on an equal footing, like all other states signatories of the Geneva convention.

The conference, which starts on December 3 in Geneva, will be attended by state delegations from 185 countries and delegations of 163 national Red Cross organizations.

Among the latter, a delegation of the Yugoslav Red Cross will attend the conference on an equal footing.

Serbia

Commissariat for Refugees Planning New Census

LD3011231895 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1447 GMT 30 Nov 95

["Pool" item by Vera Raskov]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Belgrade, Nov. 30 (TANJUG) — The Serbian commissariat for refugees is planning a new census of refugees that is aimed at securing a more adequate assistance of international humanitarian organizations, commissioner Bratislava Morina told TANJUG Thursday.

"After reaching a peace agreement in Dayton and announcing the repatriation of refugees from the territory of the former Yugoslavia, we plan to organize a new census of refugees, in agreement with the Belgrade office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR), because we believe Serbia currently has at least 200,000 unregistered refugees and displaced persons," Morina said.

The commissariat and the Serbian Government thus intend to prove that there are much more refugees than the 330,000 the UNHCR has been providing for so far.

It is believed that a large number of refugees will decide to stay in Yugoslavia, in which case more assistance will be needed from the international community and its humanitarian organizations, Morina said.

The establishing of the exact number of refugees is highly important before the program of their repatriation is put into practice.

"When I speak about the return (of refugees), I naturally always mean that such decision is voluntary, and the new census should by no means cause apprehension among refugees," Morina said.

The program of repatriation of refugees will be implemented according to plan and will not begin before next spring.

"Most realistic is to expect first the return of refugees from the Republika Srpska (Bosnian Serb Republic) because that territory is offering the greatest possibility for their safe return. The Yugoslav and Bosnian Serb Governments will coordinate their work in that respect and the international community will help," Morina said.

According to the latest reports, there are currently about 619,000 registered refugees in Yugoslavia but another 211,000 who fled the Croatian offensive on the Republic of Serb Krajina last August should also be added to get the real number of refugees.

In the meantime, a winter refugee program is being implemented for the Serb Krajina refugees, said Morina, adding that the UNHCR had already provided fuels and earmarked 2,135,368 dollars for repairing 105 facilities.

The organization has also promised to provide one million dollars to help Krajina refugees through the winter period and another one million dollars to equip facilities where they are to be accomodated, Morina said.

"I hope that, after the suspension of sanctions against Yugoslavia, bilateral cooperation will expand, particularly with countries which have so far shown good will and much solidarity in dealing with problems of accomodation of nearly 700,000 refugees under the regime of sanctions," she said.

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The United Nations Security Council on Nov. 22 suspended indefinitely the comprehensive and binding sanctions that it had imposed on the Yugoslav Republics of Serbia and Montenegro in May 1992 over their alleged involvement in the civil war in neighboring Bosnia-Herzegovina.

Montenegro

Bulatovic, Opposition Leaders Welcome Peace

AU0112093795 Podgorica MONITOR in Serbo-Croatian 24 Nov 95 pp 12-13

[Report by "D.B.": "Victory for Some, Capitulation for Others"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Momir Bulatovic, the president of the Republic of Montenegro, who was a member of the Serbian negotiating team in Dayton, told Montenegrin Television immediately after the White House announced that the peace agreement had been signed that "we were facing peace and a period of intensive economic development," adding that "the normalization of relations between all the former Yugoslav republics was only a matter of days away, since all the principles and basic attitudes had been agreed on."

Complaining that the negotiations "were on a knife's edge over the past 72 hours and two sleepless nights," Bulatovic added that "all participants in the negotiations showed that it was true that much more courage was necessary to stop a war than to start one." Stating that he was especially happy, since "the vast danger of a war to which our people had been exposed was avoided," Bulatovic stressed that the Dayton negotiators "wrote almost a book of mutual agreements, thus creating conditions for the establishment and stabilization of peace in Bosnia and in the whole region." According to Bulatovic, the problem of Prevlaka was discussed with "the Croatian delegation and especially President Tudjman," which "ended with a whole package of arrangements on the issue, which is a little complicated and would be implemented at the signing of the peace agreement in Paris." The Montenegrin president pointed out that he believed that "Montenegro would soon be quite happy with the solution achieved to this problem, which is of special importance for it."

Slavko Perovic said that "the Liberal Alliance welcomes the efforts made by the United States, which made the representatives of the warring factions reach an agreement," adding that "nobody would probably be pleased with that agreement, particularly not Serbian President Slobodan Milosevic, at least to judge from a statement in which he called upon the Bosnian Serbs to cooperate with the Muslim-Croatian Federation, which clearly indicated the total collapse of Milosevic's policy and the senselessness of the crazy four-year conflict." Perovic said that he was also extremely worried after Momir Bulatovic's statement "for the simple reason that it seemed to be completely clear that Montenegro had under Bulatovic's leadership become even smaller." Pointing out that Montenegro was facing a huge task now, Perovic said that he hoped and believed that some kind of peace had been reached for Bosnia-Herzegovina, that the guns would remain silent, and that all three parties to the conflict would realize what the leaderships, in whom they had placed their confidence, had done and to what kind of personal and other tragedies they had led.

Social Democratic Party Chairman Ilija Vujosevic said that "the most important thing is that the war was halted by this agreement." He expressed his hopes that "the agreement reached would lead to a stable and just peace." "We knew that the war and the war policy would lead to incredible crimes, international isolation, and final military, financial, and moral defeat," Vujosevic added, and said that "reading Borisav Jovic's notes today, we ought to feel lucky, since everything could have turned out much worse, too." Vujosevic considers "the signatures on the peace document accept the blame for this war and its horrible consequences, since it was the same people who signed the peace treaty who had started the war." Asked what he thought would happen after the war, Vujosevic pointed out that "we had to be aware that the people from this region would be confronted with huge problems in connection with the reconstruction of the country and with the ill consequences of the primitive nationalism, which he hoped had been finally defeated by this peace treaty, since the return to the normal world and life would take much longer than the present painful decline."

In the view of Novak Kilibarda, "the People's Party supports the Dayton agreement, because senseless bloodshed has been stopped by signing it." He hopes that "Dayton means a collapse for the Yugoslav political scene, the end of the unreported political adventure created by neo-communist parties in Serbia and Montenegro, and by the Socialist Party of Serbia and the Democratic Party of Socialists of Montenegro." Kilibarda said "that even some justice came about in the destruction of the illusory policy followed by the Serbian and Montenegrin leaderships."

"Those who led the Serbian people to the catastrophe are now signing the capitulation with their own hands, which is God's justice that has acquired — I would say — a form of perverse cynicism: The virus that caused the whole thing has been transformed into a medicine," Kilibarda said, adding his wish that "people should judge what the two ruling parties, the present

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Serbian and Montenegrin, that is, Yugoslav leadership, should be blamed for, what they have failed to do, both in the process of the collapse of Yugoslavia and during these four horrible years of war."

Kosovo

Rugova Receives UN Human Rights Envoy Rehn

AU3011142895 Tirana RILINDJA in Albanian 29 Nov 95 p 1

[Report by Kosovo Information Center: "Presentation of Plan To Solve the Kosovo Question"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Dr. Ibrahim Rugova, president of the Republic of Kosovo, received yesterday Elizabeth Rehn, UN special envoy for human rights in the former Yugoslavia, and her colleagues.

President Rugova informed Ms. Elizabeth Rehn about the grave situation in Kosovo and the systematic repression and discrimination carried out by the Serbian regime in Kosovo.

He described to the UN special envoy the political plan for solving the Kosovo question and the determination of the people of Kosovo to achieve a settlement peacefully and by political means.

The president of the republic said that an independent and neutral Kosovo, open to Albania and Serbia, would be the best solution that would reassure the Albanians and calm the regional situation. Rugova reemphasized that he had asked for Kosovo to be placed under a temporary international civil administration with the aim of averting conflicts and creating conditions for a peaceful settlement of the issue of Kosovo.

During the meeting, Ms. Elizabeth Rehn expressed interest in specific aspects of human rights in Kosovo amd expressed understanding for the peaceful resistance of the Albanians.

Ms. Rehn was is also scheduled to meet representatives of the Council for the Defense of Human Rights and Freedoms, Albanian lawyers, and the directors of the magazine KOHA.

Yesterday's visit was Ms. Rehn's first to Kosovo since she assumed this important post folowing the resignation of her predecessor, Mr. Tadeusz Mazowiecki.

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